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THE

TRIBES AND CASTES

OF THE

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

BY

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BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

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THE

TRIBES AND CASTES

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NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

VOLUME II.

Bhar.[1]—A caste of apparently Dravidian origin found in the eastern parts of the United Provinces.

They are also known as Râjbhar, Bharat, and Bharpatwa. The word Bhar is derived by the Pandits from the Sanskrit root *bhri*, to nourish, but this is improbable, and it is more likely to be of non-Aryan origin. Dr. Oppert[2] indulges in some curious speculations on the subject. He suggests their connection with the Barrhai of Ptolemy (VII-2-20), and with the Bharatas, a mountain tribe mentioned in connection with the Sabaras and with the Barbara, Varvara, or Barbarian. The derivation of large numbers of local names in Upper India from the same source, such as Bihâr, Bahrâich, Bârabanki, Bareilly, Barhaj, Barhar, and even Varanasi or Benares, etc., must be accepted with the greatest caution.

Traditions.

2. This tribe has given rise to much wild speculation. In Gorakhpur they claim to be the descendants of, and named from, an early Kshatriya Râja named Bhâradwâja, whose sons strayed from the ancient way of life and took to the use of meat and wine. Their descendant Surha settled in the village of Surauli, and wishing to marry a high caste Râjput girl, was murdered by her relations, and became an evil spirit, who does much damage still if he is not duly propitiated. That they claim to have been once a dominant race in the eastern part of Oudh and the North-Western Provinces is certain. Thus Sir C. Elliott writes :—"The scene before us in Oudh at the fall of the historic curtain is an uninhabited forest country and a

[1] Based on information collected at Mirzapur and notes received through Mr. H. E. L. P. Dupernex, C. S., Azamgarh, and from Munshi Chhedi Lâl, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Gorakhpur.

[2] *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa*, 37, *sqq.*

large colony of Sûrajbansis occupying Ajudhya as their capital. When the curtain rises again we find Ajudhya destroyed, the Sûrajbansis utterly banished, and a large extent of country ruled over by aborigines, called Cheros in the Far East, Bhars in the Centre, and Râjpâsis in the West. This great revolution seems to be satisfactorily explained by the conjecture that the Bhars, Cheros, etc., were the aborigines whom the Aryans had driven to the hills, and who, swarming down from thence not long after the beginning of our era, overwhelmed the Aryan civilisation even in Ajudhya itself, drove the Sûrajbansis under Kanaksen to emigrate into distant Gujarât, and spread over all the plain between the Himalayas and that spur of the Vindhya range which passes through the south of Mirzapur."[1] Again we read that the primitive inhabitants of Sultânpur are said to have been Bhars. "Their character is painted in the most sombre colours. They are represented to have been dark-complexioned, ill-favoured, and of mean stature, intemperate in their habits, and not only devoid of any religious belief themselves, but addicted to the persecution of those who ventured to profess any. They are said to have possessed a few scattered and detached fortresses to serve as rallying points; but to have been otherwise of nomadic and predatory habits, while their numbers are said to have barely sufficed to furnish a scanty population to the tract they occupied."[2] In support of these pretensions to have been a ruling race in the eastern part of the Province, numerous old stone forts, embankments, wells, and subterraneous caverns are attributed to them. Thus the Chiraiyakot fort, in Ghâzipur, is said to have been their work.[3] The same is the case with numerous ruins in the Basti and Ghâzipur Districts.[4] The present town of Bahrâich is said to take its name from them and to have been their oldest abode, from which they spread southward into Faizâbâd and Sultânpur. Similarly they are said to have left their name in the Bhadohi and Barhar parganas of Mirzapur.[5] Two other fortresses of the Bhars are said to have been Zahurâbâd and Lakhnesar, in Ghâzipur.[6] In Gorakhpur they are said to have been ousted by the Kausik Râjputs. Mr. Sherring considers

[1] *Chronicles of Unao*, 27.
[2] *Settlement Report*, 87, *sq.*
[3] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey*, XXII., 107.
[4] Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II., 379; Oldham, *Memoir*, I., 15—26.
[5] Elliott, *Chronicles of Unao*, 26.
[6] Oldham, *Memoir*, I., 46.

their capital in Mirzapur to have been Pampapura near Bindhâchal, where extensive ruins and a curious series of bearded stone figures are attributed to them.[1] In fact, throughout Oudh and the eastern part of the North-West Provinces every town the name of which does not end in *pur*, *ábád*, or *mau* is assigned to them.[2]

Historical evidence.

3. An attempt has been made to support these traditions by historical evidence. On the evidence of two inscriptions from Ajaygarh and Kalinjar, in Bandelkhand, and a passage from Farishta, Mr. W. C. Benett[3] argues "that a man whose name is not given, but who is described as the founder of his family, possessed himself of the fort of Ajaygarh. One of his descendants was Malika, whose brother, Dalki, on the overthrow of the last Kanauj King, conquered the whole of the Duâb; and Farishta records the utter defeat and destruction of Dalki and Malki, who had royal forts at Kalinjar and Karra and held the whole country as far as Mâlwa in their possession, by Nasir-ud-din Muhammad, the King of Delhi, in 1246 A. D. The universal tradition of Southern Oudh proves that these princes were really Bhars, and that the whole of the south of the province as far as the Ghâgra was included in their dominions." This theory, however, has failed to stand further investigation, and the Princes Dalki and Malki are identified by General Cunningham with the Baghel Râjas Dalakeswar and Malakeswar.[4] It is probable that out of the same legend has arisen the worship of Râja Bal, who is specially venerated by Bhars and Ahîrs. His worship is connected with protection from snake-bite. He is said to have been one of two Bhar brothers who ruled at Dalmau and Râê Bareli, and were slain by the Muhammadans in the time of Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur. In their memory, it is said that the Bharautiya section of Ahirs in time of mourning abstain from wearing anklets. Bal Râja is chiefly worshipped in Râê Bareli, Basti, and Eastern Oudh. He has 76,395 followers. The evidence, then, for an extensive Bhar kingdom in the eastern part of the Province rests almost entirely on the so-called Bhar *dihs* or ancient mounds

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[1] *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I., 359, *sqq*.

[2] *Chronicles of Unao*, 26; *Lucknow Settlement Report*, 62, 116. For other instances see Sherring, *loc. cit.* I., 357, *sqq*.

[3] *Oudh Gazetteer, Introduction*, XXXV., *sq.*; *Indian Antiquary*, I., 265, *sq.*; *Clans of Rae Bareli*, 2.

[4] *Archæological Survey*, XXI., 105; *Census Report, North-West Provinces*, 1891, p. 220.

and forts which abound all over the country, and on the so-called Bhar tanks, which are distinguished from those of a later date by being Surajbedi or longer from east to west, while modern tanks are Chandrabedi or lie north and south. Who may have been the builders of these monuments, our existing knowledge hardly entitles us to say with certainty. But that the identification of these monuments with the Bhars is not in every case to be trusted is proved by the fact that two buildings at Bihâr, in Partâbgarh, which are confidently ascribed to the Bhars by a writer in the *Oudh Gazetteer*,[1] are proved by General Cunningham to be genuine Buddhist stupas.[2] Similarly, the identification of the Bhars with the early rulers of the country presents many features of difficulty. Their identification with the Ubaræ of Pliny and the Barrhai of Ptolemy[3] is little more than conjectural. As Sir H. M. Elliot pointed out[4]:—"It is strange that no trace of Bhars is to be found in the Purânas, unless we may consider that there is an obscure indication of them in the Brahma Purâna, where, it is said, that among the descendants of Jayadhwaja are the Bhâratas, who, it is added, are not commonly specified on account of their great number, or they may perhaps be the Bhargas of the Mahâbhârata subdued by Bhimsen on his Eastern expedition." To this it has been replied by Mr. Sherring[5] that, first, Brâhmanical writers generally speak of the Dasyus and Asuras with superciliousness and contempt, and, secondly, the abandonment of a considerable tract of country by the Aryans was dishonourable and not likely to be mentioned. It is, perhaps, possible that the Bhars, like the Doms, may have established a fairly advanced civilisation prior to their downfall. But, as Dr. Tylor remarks:—"Degeneration probably operates even more actively in the lower than the higher culture,"[6] and we must be cautious in identifying the race of fort and tank builders with the existing Bhars mainly on the uncertain evidence of popular tradition. Whoever these people were, they probably succumbed before the eastern emigration of the Râjput tribes contemporaneous with the

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[1] I., 306.

[2] *Archæological Survey*, XI., 67.

[3] Mr. J. W. McCrindle, *Indian Antiquary*, VI., 339; XIII., 380.

[4] *Supplemental Glossary*, s. v.

[5] *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., V., 376. On the Bharatas, see Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsha*, 578, *sqq*.

[6] *Primitive Culture*, I., 46.

fall of Kanauj and the invasion of Shâhabuddîn Ghori. In Azamgarh and Ghâzipur they were driven out by the Sengar tribe, who reckon fifteen generations since their immigration; in Mirzapur and the adjoining part of Allahâbâd by the Gaharwâr; in Bhadohi, north of the Ganges, by the Monas, and further west, in Allahâbâd, by the Bais, Sonak, Tissyâl, Bisen, and Nanwak; in Faizâbâd and Eastern Oudh by the Bais; and in Gorakhpur by the Kausik. "The overthrow of the Bhars was followed by the establishment, much as we find them now, of the principal elements of modern Oudh society. The country was divided into a number of small chieftainships, ruled over by clans who, whatever their real origin may have been, all professed themselves to be of the ruling caste of Chhatris. Many of these, such as the Kânhpuriyas of Partâbgarh, the Gaurs of Hardoi, and their offshoot the Amethiyas of Râe Bareli are probably descendants of men or tribes who flourished under the low caste government."[1] How far this process may have gone on is one of the problems connected with the Râjput Ethnology of the eastern part of the Province. Mr. Carnegy was of opinion that the more respectable and influential Râjput clansmen may have fled before the then dominant rulers of the serpent race or of the followers of Buddha; but that the mass of the Chhatris remained and were in fact none other than the Bhars, Cheros, and the like, and that the final overthrow of these degraded races after the fall of Delhi was neither more nor less than the restoration of Râjput influence in those parts where it had been dormant, and the social reclamation of the Bhars.[2] Mr. V. A. Smith[3] again believes them to have been Jains, and Mr. Millett thinks them to be probably of Scythic origin, and that the termination of their influence was coeval with the first Aryan invasion.[3] The most probable supposition is that the Bhars were a Dravidian race closely allied to the Kols, Cheros, and Seoris, who at an early date succumbed to the invading Aryans. This is borne out by their appearance and physique, which closely resemble that of the undoubted non-Aryan aborigines of the Vindhyan Kaimûr plateau.

Internal structure.

4. The last Census classes the Bhars under the main sub-castes of Bhâradwâj, Kanaujiya, and Râjbhar. We find among the locally more important sub-

[1] *Oudh Gazetteer, Introduction*, XXXV.
[2] *Notes*, 19.
[3] *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1877.

castes the Hela of Benares, the Goriya of Jaunpur; in Ghâzipur, the Baltent, Dhelphor, Dhongiya, Kharwâra, Khutant, Kinwâr, Kuntel, Maunas, Pataun, Sarpos; in Ballia, the Dhelphor and Kulwant; in Faizâbâd, the Bhagta, Gangoha, and Râêdâs; and in Bahraich, the Patolbans. The Bhars of Mirzapur name three endogamous sub-divisions—Bhar Bhuînhâr, Râjbhar, and Dusâdha. The local Pâsis represent the Bhars as merely a sub-caste of their tribe; but this is denied by the Bhars themselves. The Bhár Bhuînhâr assert that they are the remnant of the ruling race among the Bhars. In support of this they wear the sacred thread, and have begun generally to call themselves Sûrajbansi Râjputs. The other Bhars, they say, are the descendants of a single pregnant woman who escaped the general massacre of the tribe by the Turks or Muhammadans. The Dusâdha Bhars are not acknowledged by the Dusâdhs themselves, but the Bhars claim them as a regular sub-caste.

Exogamy.

5. Bhars have the usual rule of exogamy, that is they will not intermarry in their own family or in that of their maternal uncle and father's sister until four or five generations have elapsed. They prefer to marry in those families with whom they have been accustomed for generations to eat and smoke. In Gorakhpur the usual sevenfold division is made up of the Bhar, Râjbhar, Musahar, Godiya, Chain, Patiwân, and Tiyar, in which we have several different, but possibly originally cognate tribes mixed up. In Azamgarh[1] they name several sub-castes—Bhar, Râjbhar, Biyâr, Patiwân, Bind, and Jonkaha or "leech-finders." Of these the Bind and Biyâr are practically independent castes, and have here been accordingly treated separately. In Azamgarh the Bhars are reckoned outcasts, but the Râjbhar are counted among Hindus. There the special title of the Râjbhars is Patait, and of the common Bhars Khuntait. The latter rear pigs, which the former do not. These divisions intermarry, but the families who do not keep pigs will not marry with those who do. Intercourse between the sexes is regulated by no strict rule. If an unmarried girl intrigue with a clansman they are married after a fine is exacted from the girl's father by the tribal council. A man may take a second wife in the lifetime of the first, with her consent, which is generally given, as it relieves

[1] *Settlement Report*, 33.

her of household work.[1] In Azamgarh the tendency seems to be towards monogamy, and a second marriage is allowed only when the first wife is barren, insane, or hopelessly diseased. When a second wife is taken she is usually a younger sister or close relation of the first. Concubinage is not permitted. They have a strong representative council (*panchâyat*), which is presided over by a chairman (*chaudhari*), whose office is hereditary. The council deals with offences in connection with marriage and caste usages. Illegitimate children by women of other castes follow the caste of the father, but are not allowed to eat, smoke, or intermarry with legitimate Bhars. Widow marriage is permitted. Widows generally marry widowers. The levirate is permitted but not enforced.

Rules of marriage.

6. In the marriage of a widow by *sagâi* the bridegroom, accompanied by his friends, goes to the house of the widow, where he pays a nominal sum as the bride-price. They are all entertained on pork, boiled rice, and pulse. The bride is dressed in ornaments and clothes provided by her suitor. Next morning he brings her home and announces the union by feeding his clansmen. If he be not a widower he has to perform a special ceremony. The bride and bridegroom sit opposite each other, and a silver ring is placed between them. The Pandit repeats some verses, during the recital of which the bridegroom marks the ring five times with red lead. He then puts on the ring, and never takes it off during his life. Girls are usually married at the age of five or seven. In Azamgarh marriages are reported to take place usually when the girl is nine years of age. A girl above ten is known as *rajaswâli*, and it is a disgrace not to have her married. The bride-price payable by the friends of the bridegroom is two-and-a-half rupees and a sheet for the bride. In Azamgarh no bride-price is paid, and if the bridegroom's family is poor his friends contribute something to the marriage expenses, which is known as *tilak*. Any serious physical defect appearing in either party after marriage is recognised as a valid ground for divorce. A wife cannot be divorced except for adultery with a stranger to the caste. The divorce must be with the leave of the tribal council, who will accept no evidence short of that of actual eye-witnesses. Marriage negotiations are carried on by the maternal uncle of the boy. When the match is settled the

[1] See instances of this in Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 496.

bride's father goes to the boy's house and gives him a rupee. Then on a fixed day he returns with some of his clansmen "to drink water" (*pâni pîni kâ din*). A square (*chauk*) is formed in the court-yard, in which the boy and his future father-in-law sit opposite each other. The bride's father marks the boy's forehead with rice and curds, and he and his party are entertained on rice, pork, goat's flesh, and wine. On this day, with the approval of the Pandit, the wedding day is fixed. The ritual is of the usual type. It begins with the *matmangar*, or collection of earth, as practised by allied castes. Then the pavilion (*mânro*) is set up at both houses, in which a plough-share and plantain stems are fixed, near which the family rice-pounder and corn-mill are placed. That day the Pandit makes the boy wear an amulet to keep off evil spirits. This contains some mango leaves, an iron ring, and some mustard seed. Next follows the anointing (*ubtaunni*), and the sacrifice of a young pig to Agwân Deva, the Pânchonpîr, and Phûlmati Devi. At the last Census 25,069 people recorded themselves as worshippers of Agwân Deva. According to Mr. Baillie the word means "a leader and may be the priest (*pujâri*) in any temple. One District note states that Agwân is a disease godling, the son of Râja Ben, and, therefore, brother to the seven small-pox sisters." With many of the lower castes to the east of the province he seems to be connected with the worship of fire (*agni*) in the form of the *homa*. The higher class Bhars sacrifice a goat instead of a pig to the Pânchonpîr. As the procession starts the usual incantation ceremony (*parichhan*) is done by the boy's mother. The rest of the ritual is of the usual type. At the bride's door the Pandit worships Gauri and Ganesa, and the pair, with their clothes knotted together, move five times round the centre pole of the shed. Next follows the ceremony in the retiring room (*kohabar*), where jokes are played on the boy by the bride's father's sister, who will not desist until she gets a present. The rest of the ceremonial is of the customary type.

Birth ceremony.

7. During pregnancy the oldest woman in the family waves a pice or a handful of grain over the woman's head, and vows to offer a pig to Birtiha (who is regarded as a village deity, *dih*), and to Phûlmati Devi, if the confinement is easy. The Chamâin midwife cuts the cord with a sickle and buries it in the delivery room: a fire is lighted over it, and kept burning during the period of pollution. After the sixth

day ceremony (*chhathi*) the barber's wife takes the place of the midwife. The birth pollution ceases on the twelfth day (*barahi*) when the father offers a pig and some wine to Birtiha Deva. On her first visit to the well the mother worships it and lays a little washed rice (*achhat*) on the platform. The husband does not cohabit with his wife for six months after her confinement.[1] The only initiation ceremony is the usual ear-boring (*kanchhedan, kanbedha*), which is done at the age of five or six. After this the child must observe the caste rules of food.

Death ceremonies.

8. The dead, except those who are unmarried or those dying of cholera or small-pox, are cremated. The others are buried or their corpses thrown into running water. Within six months they are cremated in effigy with the usual ritual. The death pollution lasts ten days, during which, daily, the chief mourner pours water on a bunch of *kusa* grass fixed in the ground on the edge of a tank as a dwelling place for the disembodied spirit. He also daily lays out a little food for the ghost. They shave on the tenth day and offer sacred balls (*pinda*) in the usual way. On that day uncooked grain (*sídha*) is given to Brâhmans, and the clansmen are fed on pork, boiled rice, and wine.

Religion.

9. Bhars are hardly ever initiated into any one of the regular Hindu sects. Their tribal deities are Agwân Deva, Phûlmati Bhawâni, the Pânchonpîr, generally represented by Parihâr, and a deified ghost known as Bânru Bîr. The Pânchonpîr are worshipped in the months of Jeth or Kuâr with fowls and cakes (*malîda*). The other deities require the sacrifice of a pig or goat and an oblation of wine. In Gorakhpur the tribal godlings are Kâlika and Kâshi Dâs Bâba, a deified Bhût. His platform is in a jungle in the Deoriya Tahsîl. There they go once a year to worship him with an offering of cakes, rice, milk, and curds. Kâlika is worshipped in the house or in the field when it is ready for the sowing of the spring crop. Her favourite offering is a young, fat pig. According to Mr. Baillie, Kâshi Dâs is particularly worshipped by Ahîrs in the Eastern Districts. It is uncertain whether in life he was a Brâhman or an Ahîr. His votaries number, according to the last Census returns, 172,599.[2] They have the usual feast to the dead in Kuâr. Their religious

[1] On this see Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 483, *sq.*

[2] A further account of him is given under *Bind*, 9.

duties are done by Brâhmans of the low village class. They observe the festivals of the Phagua, Dasami, Diwâli, Kajari, Khichari, and Tîj. A special sacrifice of a pig is made to the evil spirits who reside in the old fig trees of the village. This is done in Aghan. Some go to Gaya to perform the *srâddha* ceremony. The pîpal tree is regarded as the abode of Vasudeva, and women bow and cover their faces as they pass it.

Social customs.

10. Women are tattooed on the arms. A pig or an ass is regarded as a lucky meeting omen. Women wear glass bangles (*chûri*) on the wrist, bead necklaces, nose rings, (*nathiya*), ear ornaments (*karanphûl*), and anklets (*pairi*). Men wear a gold coin (*mohar*) round the neck. Children have two names, one given by the Pandit, which is kept secret, and the other, for ordinary use, selected by the parents. They swear on Ganges water, on the head of a son, and standing in water, and in the phrases *Râma kriya*, *Râma duhâi*, *Ganga mâi kriya*, *Bhawâni kriya*. They believe in magic and witchcraft, but do not practice these arts themselves. They believe in demoniacal possession and the Evil-eye, and in such cases call in an Ojha to treat the patient. They will not kill the cow. They will not touch a Dhobi, Hela, Dom, or Dharkâr, nor the younger brother's wife, nor the wife of the senior brother-in-law. They will not call their wives by their name. They drink liquor freely and eat the flesh of goats, sheep, deer, etc., but they will not eat the meat of the cow, crocodile, monkey, horse, jackal, or fowls. During the fortnight in Kuâr sacred to the worship of the sainted dead (*pitra paksha*), they abstain from meat. Among themselves they use the salutation *salâm*, and address other low castes in the form *Râm ! Râm !* which is also used to the father-in-law of their daughters. Women who assist the men in work are treated fairly well. They eat *kachchi* and *pakki* cooked by Brâhmans. Like all Hindus they eat *pakki* cooked by Halwâis or Chhatris, and, in fact, all Vaisyas, except Kalwârs, Doms, Dharkârs, and similar menials, eat *kachchi* cooked by them.

Occupation.

10. They are usually employed as day-labourers and ploughmen. A few are tenants without occupancy rights. Some of them have rather an equivocal reputation. They are occasionally burglars and field thieves, and they have been known to combine for road robbery and dacoity. The Bhars of Bhadohi, in the Mirzapur District, are nothing short of a pest to their respectable neighbours at harvest time, and much

of the labour spent on field watching is due to their depredations. Of the Oudh Bhars[1] it is said—"In appearance they resemble low caste Hindus, Koris, and Chamârs; and I have not noticed any Mongolian traits in their physiognomy. They have, however, one striking peculiarity in common with the Thârus—their hatred of the cultivated plain. When land has attained a certain pitch of cultivation they always leave it for some less hospitable spot, and their lives are spent in wandering from jungle to jungle. They commence the struggle with nature, and after the first and most difficult victory over disease and wild beasts, leave it to the Kurmis and Ahîrs to gather the fruits of their desultory energy. They are very timid, very honest and keen sportsmen, untiring in pursuit, and excellent shots with their long guns. They show the influence of orthodox Hinduism in sparing the nîlgâi, but are fond of the flesh of pigs, washing down their feasts with copious draughts of spirits of rice or mahua." They offer goats to Samai, and decapitate chickens before the snake god Kârê Deo. Their worship of Banspati Mâi is more Hindu in its character, and their pure offering of grain and clarified butter are handed over to be eaten by a Brâhman. The worshippers of Banspati Mâi according to the last Census returns amounted to 16,489 persons. Marriages are contracted without the intervention of a Pandit, and with the rites in use among other low castes, such as Koris and Chamârs. With a magnificent assumption of rights not recognised by our law, a bride's father makes over in gift (*sankalap*) to the bridegroom a small patch of forest to clear and cultivate.[2].

Distribution of the Bhars according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Bhâradwâj.	Kanaujiya.	Râjbhar.	Others.	Total.
Sahâranpur . .	...	...	7	68	75
Muzaffarnagar . .	...	...	8	118	126
Morâdâbâd . .	...	...	...	15	15
Pilibhît . . .	...	...	...	4	4

[1] *Oudh Gazetteer*, I., 341.

[2] On this custom see Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 465; and compare *Korwa*, para. 10.

Distribution of the Bhars according to the Census of 1891 – concld.

District.	Bhâradwâj.	Kanaujiya.	Râjbhar.	Others.	Total.
Allahâbâd	...	...	5	11	16
Benares	...	...	28,141	14,490	42,631
Mirzapur	...	...	2,284	858	3,142
Jaunpur	...	38	16,048	7,732	23,818
Ghâzipur	...	...	1,965	58,021	59,986
Ballia	86	1,258	47,608	9,908	58,860
Gorakhpur	1,498	14	19,094	53,338	73,944
Basti	...	...	15,820	6,789	22,609
Azamgarh	2,562	990	25,094	62,711	91,357
Lucknow	...	...	...	8	8
Unâo	...	...	...	7	7
Râê Bareli	...	...	...	11	11
Hardoi	...	...	4	...	4
Kheri	...	...	4	5	9
Faizâbâd	...	...	20,014	6,855	26,869
Gonda	...	...	714	9,820	10,538
Bahraich	...	...	2	608	610
Sultânpur	...	...	1,041	2,063	3,104
Partâbgarh	...	...	1	1	2
Total	4,146	2,300	1,77,858	2,33,441	4,17,745

Bhâradwâj.—(Sanskrit, Bhâradwâja, Bharadwâja, bringing or bearing food; a skylark.)—A small sept of Râjputs. It is a common appellation for Brâhmanical and other *gotras*.

Distribution of the Bhâradwâj Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	12	Lalitpur . . .	6
Meerut . . .	5	Benares . . .	14
Bulandshahr . . .	10	Ghâzipur . . .	9
Agra	35	Gorakhpur . . .	1
Etah	7	Basti	97
Morâdabâd . . .	5	Azamgarh . . .	22
Cawnpur . . .	2	Lucknow . . .	35
Bânda	27	Râê Bareli . . .	1
Jâlaun . . .	11		
		Total .	299

Bharbhûnja.[1]—(Sanskrit *bhrashtra*, a frying pan; *bhrij*, to fry.)—The caste of grain parchers. They are also known as Bhûj, Bhujua, and Bhurji. As a purely occupational tribe their subdivisions are somewhat confused. At the last Census they were recorded under no less than three hundred and sixty-four subcastes for the Hindu and forty for the Muhammadan branch. These are of the familiar type. Some illustrate some real or supposed connection with other castes and tribes, such as the Bhadauriya, Chaubê, Chauhân, Kanjar, Kâyasth, Khatri, Lodhi, Râthaur, Baddhik, Teliyabans, and the like. Others are local subdivisions like Audhbâsi, Bâtham (of Srâvasti), Bhatnâgar, Desi, Gangapâri, Hamîrpuriya, Kanaujiya, Jaunpuriya, Mathuriya, and so on. The last Census classifies them under the main heads of Bhatnâgar, Jagjâdon, Kaithiya, Kându, Râthaur, Saksena, and Sribâstab. Of these, by far the most numerous are the Kanaujiyas and Saksenas. The Bhatnâgar are said to derive their name from the old town of

[1] Based on local enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Bareilly and Agra, Mr. W. H. O'N. Segrave, Basti, and Munshi Niyâz Ahmad, Fatehpur.

Bhatner in the Bikâner State; the Jagjâdons assert a connection with the Jâdon Râjputs; the Kaithiya with Kâyasths, as the Bhujâris of the Dakkhin say they are Kâyasths from Upper India;[1] the Kându is usually treated as a separate caste; the Râthaur claim descent from the Râjput tribe of that name; the Saksena and the Srîbâstab are said to be derived from the two ancient cites of Sankisa in the Farrukhâbâd District, and Srâvasti or Sahet-Mahet in the Gonda District. But this does not exhaust the list of the sub-divisions. Thus in Agra, they divide themselves into Saksena, Srivâstâvya or Śribâstab, Kându, Lakhautiya, Dhankûta or paddy pounders, and Sanksa, who are probably identical with the Saksena. In Mirzapur they are sometimes called Kându; but the two tribes are said not to be identical, as the real Kândus do not parch grain at all, and distinguish themselves from the Bharbhûnjas by calling themselves Madhesiya Kându, or those of "the middle land." Here, however, Bharbhûnjas regard Kândus as a sub-division of their caste, and say that they have really three main sub-divisions—Kanaujiya, Kându, and Dhîmar. Kanaujiyas have again two sections, Purbiya or Eastern, and Pachhiwâha or Western, and to these the true Bharbhûnjas say they belong. These two sections admittedly intermarry; and it is alleged that quite recently, or even occasionally, at present, Dhîmars and Kândus intermarry. But this is more than doubtful. In Bareilly, again, there are said to be three endogamous sections, Saksena, Kabâriya, and Kandiya, while in Bânda the caste is known as Kândua, Renrkûta, or "pounders of the castor-oil seed," and Tilbhûnja, or "parchers of sesamum," and has three endogamous sections—Teliya, Bhunjua, and Dophansiya, or "two-noose men." It thus appears that the internal organisation of the caste is at present in a state of transition, and that the tendency is to break up into an increasing number of endogamous sections which will probably in time form a number of so-called separate castes.

Marriage customs.

The sections are, as has been said, almost certainly all endogamous, and they seem generally to practise the ordinary rule of exogamy which bars the line of the paternal and maternal uncle and aunt. Widow marriage by the forms known as *sagâi*, *kâj*, or *karâo*, and the levirate prevail.

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[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVI., 60.

3. To the east of the Province they are usually of the Vaishnava sect and worship the Pânchon Pîr and Hardiya Deva or Hardaur Lâla, the cholera godling, whose worshippers at the last Census amounted to 5,034 persons; and worshippers of these two different deities are said usually not to intermarry. In Bareilly their tribal godling is Chanda Kartâl, of whom nothing appears to be known. In Bânda and Fatehpur they are said to be generally Sâktas and worshippers of Devi, Mahâdeva, and Mahâbîr. The offerings consist of rice, goats, spirits, flowers, and money. Devi and Mahâdeva are worshipped on Mondays, and Mahâbîr on Tuesdays.

Religion.

4. They eat goat's meat and the flesh of deer and similar animals, except when they have been regularly initiated or have taken the vow of a Bhagat. All high castes can eat *pakki* from their hands, and Kahârs and Nâis will eat *kachchi*. They will not eat *kachchi* cooked by any caste but their own, and will take *pakki* cooked by any Brâhman, Kshatriya, or Vaisya. According to Mr. Hoey[1] there are in Lucknow "three classes of grain parchers. The poorest are those who merely parch grain for those who bring it. They receive one *paisa* per *ser* on expensive grain and a quarter *paisa* per *ser* on cheap grain. A stage above these are grain-parchers, who buy grain and store it and sell parched grain. These are termed Charbanfarosh. Above both of these is a much more comfortable class who buy rice in the autumn and store it. They make *lâi*, *chiura*, and *khîl*, which are in daily demand, and also in special demand at the Diwâli and on occasion of fairs, etc. There are some Bhurjis especially well-off who have their oven in the immediate neighbourhood of large grain markets. Merchants who import grain treat these very liberally, and think nothing of flinging down a couple of *sers* of grain and taking in exchange half a *ser* of parched grain (*chabena*)." The work they do, and particularly the heavy part of it, which consists in sweeping up dry leaves for fuel, tends to lower them in popular estimation. It is a favourite curse to wish an enemy that he may some day come to stoke the kiln of a grain-parcher, and a common proverb is *Bharbhúnjá kî larkî kesar kâ tîkâ*—the grain-parcher's slut with saffron on her forehead."

Social customs.

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1 *Monograph on Trades and Manufactures*, 76.

Distribution of Bharbhûnjas and their sections according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Bhatnâgar.	Jagjâdon.	Kaithiya.	Kanaujiya.	Kându.	Râthaur.	Saksena.	Sribâstab.	Others.	Musalmâns.	Total.
Dehra Dûn . . .	...	...	...	281	...	...	...	...	72	...	353
Sahâranpur . . .	58	...	30	48	...	...	...	...	1,211	1,103	2,450
Muzaffarnagar . . .	451	690	632	18	...	...	...	...	71	188	2,050
Meerut	...	85	2,040	...	...	...	...	...	1,123	126	3,374
Bulandshahr . . .	...	144	...	...	...	...	...	54	520	1,881	2,599
Aligarh	...	...	104	...	...	24	...	...	1,407	670	2,205
Mathura	1	38	...	...	...	6	10	...	510	10	575
Agra	...	41	503	...	...	2	321	102	1,163	328	2,460
Farrukhâbâd . . .	...	...	4,228	195	...	...	5,169	252	220	113	10,177
Mainpuri	...	...	2,269	365	...	...	2,210	252	76	67	5,239
Etâwah	...	...	2,859	128	...	...	1,348	427	181	7	4,950
Etah	...	...	874	...	...	...	1,055	7	273	227	2,436
Bareilly	...	320	288	362	...	...	7,591	...	1,127	...	9,688

Bijnor	...	602	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	440	901	1,943
Budâun	...	18	528	...	...	...	4,481	47	210	746	6,030
Morâdâbâd	179	1,329	448	...	...	...	1,461	5	1,143	499	5,064
Shâjahjahânpur	...	...	2,152	240	...	3	12,517	357	453	...	15,722
Pilibhît	...	11	442	70	30	2	4,198	33	380	83	5,249
Cawnpur	...	...	338	8,362	142	166	435	55	645	1	10,144
Fatehpur	...	...	...	6,934	...	32	...	...	705	...	7,671
Bânda	...	...	...	5,683	...	...	...	71	1,609	...	7,363
Hamîrpur	...	...	90	2,526	...	...	14	293	96	...	3,019
Allahâbâd	...	...	...	13,631	...	...	16	21	613	...	14,281
Jhânsi	...	...	39	14	8	...	32	168	139	23	423
Jâlaun	...	..	597	187	...	2	129	169	91	300	1,475
Lalitpur	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	26	18	...	52
Benares	...	...	...	1,509	50	...	...	...	703	...	2,262
Mirzapur	...	...	...	4,901	53	...	...	...	309	...	5,263
Jaunpur	...	...	...	11,324	...	...	...	...	383	...	11,707
Ghâzipur	...	...	...	80	...	...	...	...	70	...	150

Distribution of Bharbhûnjas and their sections by Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Bhatnâgar.	Jagjâdon.	Kaithiya.	Kanaujiya.	Kându.	Râthaur.	Saksena.	Sribâstab.	Others.	Musalmâns.	Total.
Gorakhpur	...	...	...	5,816	204	...	...	...	792	...	6,812
Basti	...	...	...	9,845	...	...	...	...	96	...	9,941
Azamgarh	...	...	...	142	...	...	...	...	...	...	142
Tarâi	...	261	...	...	...	...	755	...	43	22	1,081
Lucknow	...	...	...	5,013	159	1,745	3	...	1,266	4	8,190
Unâo	...	...	251	3,209	...	400	48	11	3,204	...	7,123
Râê Bareli	...	...	73	10,018	103	584	...	...	1,099	...	11,877
Sîtapur	...	...	3	8,159	147	...	884	2,365	1,801	193	13,552
Hardoi	...	...	1,080	30	25	...	13,855	...	426	...	15,416
Kheri	...	...	186	4,476	...	...	3,300	1,805	948	87	10,802
Faizâbâd	...	...	...	8,040	...	...	...	...	222	...	8,262
Gonda	...	...	...	16,539	...	168	...	...	18	41	16,766
Bahrâich	...	...	...	10,317	235	1,227	...	2	50	327	12,158

Sultánpur	.	.	.	...	...	...	14,082	460	...	...	...	576	15	15,133
Partábgarh	.	.	.	...	...	...	8,240	...	...	...	...	312	...	8,552
Bárabanki	.	.	.	...	...	...	10,894	1,413	...	...	...	4,670	1,047	18,024
TOTAL	.	689	3,539	20,054	171,686	3,029	4,361	59,832	6,522	31,484	9,009	310, 05

Bharsaiyân, Bharsiyân.—A sept of Râjputs found in Sultânpur. The word is a corruption of Bhainsauliyân, or natives of Bhainsaul, whence the sept derives its origin. They are not shown separately in the returns of the last Census. They are said to be originally Chauhâns of Mainpuri. Their leader into Oudh was Karan Sinh, who married into a Bais family. One of his successors, Bâz Sinh, was converted to Islâm in the reign of Shîr Shâh, and received the title of Khân-i-Âzam Bhainsauliyân. His descendants are manifestly the Chauhân-i-nau-Muslim, alluded to in the Aîn-i-Akbari as occupying the Inhauna Pargana.[1]

Bhât.[2]—(Sanskrit, *bhatta*, "lord," probably connected with *bhartri*, "a cherisher," "nourisher").—A caste of family bards and genealogists. Traditionally they are generally supposed to be descended from the intercourse of a Chhatri and a Brâhman widow. Many legends are told of their origin. Some believe them to be "the modern representatives of the Magadha spoken of in Manu as the offspring of a Vaisya father and a Kshatriya mother. Lassen regards this mythical pedigree as a theoretical explanation of the fact that the professional singers of the praises of great men had come by Manu's time to be regarded a distinct class. Zimmer, on the other hand, seems to take the tradition more seriously and speaks of the Magadha as a "mixed class," out of which, as we learn by numerous passages in later writings, a guild of singers arose, who devoting themselves to the deeds of the Kosala-Videha and Kuru Panchâla may have laid the foundation of the epic poems."[3] Sir John Malcolm says[4]:—"According to the fable of their origin, Mahâdeva first created Bhâts to attend to his lion and bull; but the former killing the latter every day gave him infinite vexation and trouble in creating new ones. He, therefore formed the Châran, equally devout as the Bhât, but of bolder spirit, and gave him charge of these favourite animals. From that period no bull was ever destroyed by the lion." By another account.—"Once upon a time Brahma performed a sacrifice when two men appeared and stood before the sacrificial fire. When Mahâkâli saw that they were

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[1] *Sultânpur Settlement Report*, 178.

[2] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Pandit Baldeo Prasâd, Deputy Collector, Cawnpur; Bâbu Jay Gopal Banerji, Râê Bareli. Bâbu Mûl Chand, Subordinate Judge, Konrh, Mirzapur; Bâbu Sânwal Dâs, Deputy Collector, Hardoi.

[3] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 98.

[4] *Central India*, II., 132.

dying of thirst she gave them suck from her breasts, and named them Mâgadha and Sûta. The Mâgadha Brâhmans settled in the East and the Bhât Brâhmans are their descendants; the Sûta settled in the West, and from them sprang the Bhâts." By another legend, when Kâli destroyed the Râkshasas she formed a figure out of her sweat and breathed life into it, so that it might record her victory.

2. Again, according to Mr. Nesfield, the Bhâts are an "offshoot from those secularised Brâhmans who frequented the courts of princes and the camps of warriors, recited their praises in public, and kept records of their genealogies. Such without much variation is the function of the Bhât at the present day. The ancient epic known as the Mahâbhârata speaks of a band of bards and eulogists marching in front of Yudhishthira as he made his progress from the field of Kurukshetra towards Hastinapur. But these very men are spoken of in the same poem as Brâhmans. Nothing could be more natural than that, as time went on, these courtier-priests should have become hereditary bards, who receded from the parent stem and founded a new caste bound together by mutual interests and sympathies. There are several facts in support of this theory, that one of the sub-castes is called Baram or Biram Bhât; that some Gaur Brâhmans still act as bards and genealogists; that the Bhât still wears the sacred thread, and is addressed by the lower caste by the Brâhman title of Mahârâja; and lastly, that by an obvious survival of Brâhmanical titles, the Bhât's employer is called *jajmân*, "he who gives the sacrifice," while the Bhât himself is called *jagwa jâjak* or *jâchak*, "the priest by whom the sacrifice is performed." To this Mr. Risley objects that "if the Bhâts of the present day are descended solely from a class of degraded Brâhmans, if, in other words, they are a homogeneous offshoot from the priestly class, how do they come to have a number of sections which are certainly not Brâhmanical, and which appear rather to resemble the territorial exogamous groups common among the Râjputs? Brâhmans, however degraded, hold fast to their characteristic series of eponymous sections, and I know of no case in which it can be shown that they have adopted section names of a different type. On the other hand, there is nothing specially improbable in the conjecture that Râjputs may have taken up the profession of bard to the chiefs of their tribe, and thus may, in course of time, have become incorporated in the Bhât caste. It will be

seen that this solution of the difficulty in no way conflicts with Mr. Nesfield's view, but merely modifies it by introducing a second factor into the formation of the caste. Mr. Nesfield regards the Bhâts as a homogeneous functional group thrown off by the Brâhmans. I look upon them as a heterogeneous group made up of Brâhmans and Râjputs welded together into one caste by virtue of their exercising similar functions. I may add, however, that the inviolability of the Bhât's person, which was admitted in Western India towards the end of the last century, makes rather for Mr. Nesfield's view than for mine; while the theory of Roth and Zimmer, that the first germ of the Brâhman caste is to be sought in the singers of Vedic times, may perhaps be deemed to tell in the same direction." At the last Census the Bhâts were recorded under no less than nine hundred and sixty-eight sub-castes for the Hindu and one hundred and sixty-one for the Muhammadan branch. The analysis of the sub-castes goes on the whole to support Mr. Risley's theory. We find very few distinctively Brâhmanical titles, such as Achârya, Bhâradwâja, Dikshit, Gangaputra, Gaur, Sândilya, Sâraswata, or Sarwariya, but many either of purely local origin, such as Bhatnâgar, Dakkhinwâr, Dalpuriya, Dilliwâl, Hamirpuri, Hastinapuri, Jaiswâr, Jaunpuriya, Mathuriya, and the like; and many derived from the names of existing Râjput or other tribes, such as Bargûjar, Bargyân, Bhadauriya, Bundel, Chandrabansi, Kachhwâha, Râthaur, Sakarwâr, and so on.

Internal structure.

3. The structural division of the caste is not very well defined. At the last Census in these Provinces they were recorded under nine main endogamous sub-castes: Bhâradwâja, "the lark, the bringer of food," which is a *gotra* title common to Brâhmans and other castes; Biram or Brâhman Bhâts; Dasaundhi, of which there are at least two derivations, either from the Hindi *dasaundh*, or "receiver of tithes," or Sanskrit *dasa-vandika*, in the sense of "reader of the stars," "an astrologer," which is more probable; Gajbhîm; Jâga (Sanskrit *yakshya*, "to be sacrificed or worshipped"); Keliya; Mahâpâtra; Râê; and Râjbhât. Among the sub-castes locally important we find in Bulandshahr the Sapahar; in Mathura, the Barwâr; in Etâwah, the Athsaila and Barwa; in Cawnpur, the Lâhauri; in Allahâbâd, the Gangwâr; in Ghâzipur, the Bandijan; in Azamgarh, the Lakhauriya: in Unâo and Sitapur, the Kanaujiya: in Râê Bareli, the Amlakhiya: in Faizâbâd, the Athsaila, Bandijan

Dakkhinwâr, and Gangwâr; in Gonda, the Basoriya; in Sultânpur, the Gadh, Gangwâr, Madhuriya, and Râna; in Partâbgarh, the Gadhwa, Gangwâr, and Jujhaina; in Bârabanki, the Basodhiya. Sir H. M. Elliot has given a very complete account of the Bhâts in these provinces:—"By some tribes the Bhât and Jâga are considered synonymous, but those who pretend to greater accuracy distinguish them by calling the former Birmbhât or Bâdi, and the latter Jâgabhât. The former recite the deeds of ancestors at weddings and other festive occasions; the latter keep the family records, particularly of Râjputs, and are entitled by right of succession to retain the office, whereas the Birmbhâts are hired and paid for the particular occasion. Jâgabhâts pay visits to their constituents every two or three years, and receive perquisites to which they are entitled. After recording all the births which have taken place since their last tour, they are remunerated with rupees, cattle, or clothes, according to the ability of the registering party. Those of the North-Western Râjputs generally reside between the borders of Rajputâna and the Delhi territory. Many also live at Dâranagar on the Ganges, and travel to the remote East to collect their fees; whereas the Birmbhâts are resident in towns and do not emigrate periodically. Both of these classes are held in the same dread for their exactions, which are satisfied by their constituents for fear of being lampooned and paraded in effigy before the other members of the family. Several communities of Bhâts reside in the north of Oudh, and a few are scattered over these Provinces. In Rohilkhand the occupation of Bhâts as bards is frequently usurped by Gaur Brâhmans. There are several sub-divisions of the Bhâts of these provinces, and an attempt is sometimes made, as with many other classes, to reduce them to the definite number of seven, *viz.*—Athsaila, Mahâpâtra, Keliya, Mainpuriwâla, Jangira, Bhatara, and Dasaundhi. But there are several which are not included under these heads, as Chaurâsi, Gajbhîm, Chungelê, Gujariwâla, Sikatpuriya, Nagauri, Barua, etc., which shows that the classification into seven is not correct.

4. This, however, does not exhaust the sub-divisions of the Bhâts. Thus, in Mirzapur, they are divided into the Jagawa or Jâga, Barpagwa, "those who wear a large turban," Phulwariya, "of the flower garden," Dasaundhi, Kavirâj, or poets, Kewat kê Bhât, or those attached to the Kewat caste, and the Musalmâni. The Hindu Bhâts have, besides, a number of *gotras* or sections which

are identical with those of Brâhmans. The Dasaundhi, again, who call themselves Jasaundhi, and derive their name from the Hindi *jas*, Sanskrit, *yasas*, "glory," are sub-divided into Kalsa, Pâtha, and Kulîn. In Hardoi they give their sub-divisions as Keliya, Mahâpâtra or "prime minister," Athsaila, Bhâradwâja, Mohan-mûrat, Bhatara, Changelê, and Brahmbhât. In Râê Bareli they give their sub-divisions as Banswariya, Mahâpâtra, Keliya, Athsaila, Gajbhîm, Gohorwâriwâl, Jaisari kâ Bhatra, Pihâniwâl, Mainpuri kâ Bhâtra, Pitarpuri Rauwa, Senbasiya, Kuttaha, Dospuriya, Pipariha, Dukanha, Gangwâr, Bhagtaha, Majh-gânwiya, Sirohiwâl, Lahariwâl, Nagrauiyân, Ghoraha, Nabi-nagar kâ langota, Garhwapâri, Chaurasiya, and Katiha. These are said to be exogamous sections, many of which are of the territorial type. Among these the Keliya, Mahâpâtra, Banswariya, Athsaila, Gajbhîm, Gohorwariwâl, and Jaisari kâ Bhâtra are regarded as superior and practise a form of hypergamy, taking brides from the other sections, but not giving them their daughters in return. In Bareilly, again, there are two sub-divisions of the Jâga sub-caste who are Muhammadans—the Sârhê tîn ghar or "three and a half houses," and the Das ghar or "ten houses," of whom the former practise hypergamy with the latter.

Marriage rules.

5. Where there are exogamous sections or *gotras* the rule of exogamy follows the standard formula as in the case of the higher castes; in other places, as in Mirzapur, they will not marry their sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter, brother-in-law's daughter maternal uncle's daughter, or any member of their own family (*kul*). They can marry a sister-in-law, but not if she be older than the first wife, because, by virtue of the giving away of the bride (*kanyâdân*), the younger sister is considered daughter of the elder. Marriage is carried out in infancy, and it is only when the parents are very poor that the marriage of a daughter is deferred until puberty, and then it involves social discredit. It is usual for parents to give a dowry with the bride, which becomes the property of the bridegroom's parents. Some of the poorer Bhâts take a bride-price; but this is considered disgraceful. This payment, however, appears to be generally given by old men or widowers who would otherwise find it difficult to marry. Widow marriage and the levirate are both prohibited.

Domestic ceremonies.

6. All the domestic ceremonies are of the orthodox type. When a son is born the *Nandi mukh srâddha* is performed, and in marriage the giving away of the bride (*kanyâdân*) is the binding part of the ceremony. They follow the ordinary Hindu law of inheritance.

The Muhammadan Bhâts.

7. Those in the Eastern Districts have an absurd story that they were in the service of Chait Sinh and were forcibly converted to Islâm by Mr. Jonathan Duncan in revenge for some advice they gave to their master. Others to the West say that they were converted by the orders of Shahâb-ud-dîn Ghori. They practise a curious mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan rites. At marriage they call in a Pandit, collect the sacred earth (*matmangar*), erect a marriage shed, give away the bride, and make the pair perform the usual circumambulations. When this is all over they send for the Qâzi, and the *nikâh* is read in the usual Muhammadan fashion. They are a miserable sort of people, who wander about singing at respectable houses. They are more violent and abusive in their language if not suitably rewarded than their Hindu brethren. In Mirzapur they have exogamous sub-divisions, such as Jâga, Kanjriwâl, or those attached to the Kanjar vagrants, Khawâni, Râjbhât, and Bandijan. In some places the title of Jâga seems to be appropriated to them. They circumcise their boys and bury their dead in the usual Muhammadan fashion, but they do a sort of *srâddha* and pay annual worship to the spirits of the dead as Hindus do.

The religion of the Hindu Bhâts.

8. The Hindu Bhâts are orthodox Hindus. They are usually either Vaishnavas or Sâktas. In Mirzapur, they worship, in addition to the ordinary gods, of whom the most venerated is Siva in the form of Gauripati, Barê Bîr, Mahâbîr, and Sârda. Barê Bîr, who appears to be the deified ghost of some worthy of the tribe, is honoured by making a plastered square in the court-yard and placing within it a lighted lamp. To Gauripati they offer a burnt sacrifice (*hom*) and some sweets (*laddu*) on the last day of Baisâkh in the family kitchen. Mahâbîr is worshipped on a Tuesday in the month of Baisâkh by painting a representation of him on the back of a brass tray with red lead. This is placed on a stool, and the eldest male or female member of the family bathes, marks his or her forehead with sandal, and offers to the god sweet cakes (*rot*), *laddu* sweetmeats, a Brâhmanical thread (*janeú*), garlands of flowers, a small loin cloth

(*langoṭi*), and a head-dress (*pâta*). Then a fire sacrifice (*hom*) is made, and the articles offered are distributed among the members of the family. By the Census Returns only 381 persons have recorded themselves as exclusive worshippers of Mahâbîr; but this is made up for by 937,493 worshippers of Hanumân. Sârda is a corruption of the name of the goddess Saraswati, the patroness of learning; she is not worshipped in any systematic way, but is invoked whenever they commence their recitations. The Census shows that Saraswati has 5,311 exclusive worshippers. In common with many of the lower castes, they also worship Birtiya on a Wednesday in the month of Aghan. A Chamâr Ojha is selected, and he in front of the house makes a sacrifice of a young pig and some turmeric. The head of the victim is buried deep in the ground, and the rest of the meat is taken by the Ojha, who also gets some uncooked grain and a few pice. Their other domestic ceremonies are done by Sarwâriya Brâhmans. In other parts of the Eastern Districts they worship Bhawâni and Devi, particularly when epidemic disease prevails.

The Chârans.

9. No account of the Bhâts would be complete without some reference to the Chârans, though they are hardly to be found in this part of India. In Gujarât they are Vaishnavas, and find employment in the Courts of Native Princes or in the families of private gentlemen. Many go from place to place and earn a living by reciting the pedigrees and family achievements of those from whom they ask alms. They wear on their persons a variety of ornaments, such as the earring, necklace, anklets, etc., and by way of arms they carry a sort of sword. They are cultivators and have enough money to lend at interest. There are not a few who stand security for a consideration. They are a warm-blooded and passionate people, as many acts of theirs in past times testify.[1] They had, some years ago, a ready way of extorting money, or the fulfilment of a pledge made to them. If a man refused to keep a promise made to them they brought a girl or an old woman of their family to the house of the defaulter and threatened to kill or did actually kill her. Not a century ago the faith placed in the word of a Bhât was perhaps the only way of obtaining the feeling of security necessary to conduct business of any kind. All men, from the prince to the peasant, trusted to the Bhât or Châran that he would keep his word or die. Soon after the

[1] For the immunity of the Bhâts compare that of the herald in classical literature—*Iliad*, I., 334; Æschylus, *Agamemnon*, 498; Plato, *Laws*, 941 A.

advent of the British the use of this intermediary collapsed, and the bad points in his character came into relief; but his good work in past times should not be overlooked. By violent threats to kill some member of their family, the Bhâts for a long time, and up to quite recent times, were able to extort money or the accomplishment of any promise made to them; but the late Mahârâja Khandê Râo enacted a special provision of law to meet these cases of extortion, and put an end to them. The Bhât women are as bold, voluble, and ready in retort as the men. When a Bhât woman passes a male caste-fellow on the road, it is the latter who raises a piece of cloth to his face till the woman is out of sight.

10. The Châran,[1] as they are called, still fill a large place in the society of Western India, though their services as bards and genealogists are less in demand than they were in the old days They are, nevertheless, considered, from their calling, to bear a sacred character, and any injury done to one of them will bring down an anathema on the head of the evil-doer, which no amount of penance will wash away. The awe they inspire is as great with the Râjput chief as with the illiterate Bhîl. They are also the principal carriers of the country, and as such enjoy immunity from taxation, to which the rest of the community have to submit. When the Châran cannot obtain what he wants, or considers he has been unjustly dealt with, he will resort to what is known as *tragya*, or self-sacrifice, by cutting or wounding himself, or perhaps taking the life of some member of his family, in order that the blood of the victim may rest upon the head of his oppressor; and so great is the dread inspired by even the mere threat of carrying out this act that a ready acquiescence is generally given to all demands. The death of a Châran by his own hands would be considered by the outside world a sort of excommunication of the chief, against which the latter would find it almost hopeless to contend. Holding such a formidable weapon over the heads of all alike, high or low, the Châran becomes overbearing and avaricious, and consequently they are a class difficult to manage. Members of the tribe are to be found travelling over the length and breadth of India, with their droves of pack-bullocks, by means of which, notwithstanding the increased mileage of railways of late years, a great part of the enormous trade of that vast continent is still transported to its

[1] *North Indian Notes and Queries*, July 1893.

destination. It might have been thought that the railway would have materially reduced their profits, and although it has curtailed the sphere of their operations, it has obliged them to open up fresh lines of traffic, and to become feeders to the various lines of railway. Salt, grain, and seeds form the principal articles of transport by means of their caravans. The loads are carried in strong thick bags thrown across the backs of the bullocks without any rope or strap to fasten them, but merely balanced on them, and after the day's march is over the bags are piled in stacks, around which the Nâik, his family, and companions keep guard during the night, although the sacred calling of tribe and the dread of their anathema are quite sufficient to insure them immunity from all plunderers. There is no more picturesque sight than one of these large caravans wending its way along the high road. The men and women are invariably on foot and distributed along the drove of bullocks, re-loading a beast which may have thrown his pack, or balancing and adjusting another as the case may be. The men with their large, loosely-folded turbans, white flowing robes, many of them with necklaces, generally of gold, about their person, form a pleasing contrast to the women in their brightly-coloured garments, with large conical caps adorned with gold and silver chains and small bells, from which is pendant a light richly-coloured scarf hanging gracefully over the shoulders. Tall and upright in figure, lithe and active, often with pleasing features and not an over-dark skin, her petticoat of one colour, her boddice of another, but somewhat brighter, her jet-black hair bound up and entwined with gold and silver coins, her arms encased from wrist to elbow in bracelets of white and coloured ivory, bangles of silver on her ankles, and the high conical cap profusely ornamented on her head, the matron presents a picture which once seen is not easily forgotten. As bard of the chief, the Châran occupies an exalted position, and is one of the retainers always about his person, and frequently the medium of communication on difficult and delicate missions, such as an alliance in marriage, when he is the bearer of the cocoanut, which is the emblem sent on such occasions. He used invariably to accompany him in all his expeditions against his enemies, in order that he might transcribe in glowing verse the deeds of prowess done by his chief and the clan. The genealogy of the family is in his keeping, and he can recount from memory all the stirring events connected with the history of the house, which have been orally handed down to him by his father

before him. Like the Scald of the ancient Norseman, the bard delights in narrating in open darbâr when called upon by his lord, some inspiring themes connected with the fortunes of the family. It is then, surrounded by an admiring and sympathetic audience, that he will launch out in the flowery language of his country, and with magical effect stir the hearts of his listeners with the thrilling account of how their ancestors fought in defence of their homes and their race, and fell covered with wounds, performing deeds that have left them deathless names, and how by emulating their example and treading in their footsteps they will make resplendent the blood of their ancient line. All this has in these days become utterly unreal, but the respect with which the bard is regarded when he recalls the most stirring memories of the race is not matter for surprise.

11. In social position the Bhât ranks fairly high, and is as particular in eating and drinking as a Brâhman: but he bears an indifferent reputation for volubility and abusive language. One proverb about them is,—

Bhât, Bhatiyâri, Beswa, tînon jât kujât :
Âté kâ ádar karen ; ját na púchhen bât.

"The bard, the inn-keeper, and the harlot are a bad lot: when you come they are civil; when you go they care nothing."

Banyak dâta, Thakurak hîn,
Baidaka pût byâdh na chînh,
Bhâtak chup, beswak mail,
Kahen Ghâgh—pânchon ghar gail,

"A generous Banya, a mean Râjput, a physician's son who cannot diagnose disease, a silent Bhât, and an unclean courtesan—all five, says Ghâgh, are on the road to ruin."

Distribution of Bhâts according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Bhâradwâj.	Biram.	Dasaundhi.	Gajbhîm.	Jâga.	Kaliya.	Mahâpâtra.	Râé.	Rajbhât.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	...	211	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	119	40	370
Sahâranpur	...	431	...	...	117	...	...	...	80	1,003	227	1,858
Muzaffarnagar . . .	...	911	...	...	549	...	...	...	...	214	119	1,793
Meerut	...	1,771	...	...	300	...	...	58	...	382	364	2,875
Bulandshahr	...	1,173	...	...	62	100	...	1	...	2,480	223	4,039
Aligarh	...	799	...	...	...	...	14	203	...	2,193	50	3,259
Mathura	...	237	907	29	20	43	...	347	8	386	2	1,979
Agra	5	2,151	13	...	10	20	...	14	...	811	8	3,032
Farrukhâbâd . . .	5	640	7	17	175	877	...	8	2	455	189	2,375
Mainpuri	24	1,263	15	...	44	42	...	23	...	796	54	2,261
Etâwah	14	637	36	101	21	852	22	...	...	1,601	130	3,414
Etah	3	2,313	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	625	46	2,987

Bareilly	...	832	...	...	90	14	...	44	...	49	151	1,180
Bijnor	4	447	...	...	203	...	...	...	....	210	121	985
Budâun	3	1,133	...	...	...	...	...	16	...	252	213	1,617
Morâdâbâd	2	396	...	...	66	...	...	...	...	739	241	1,444
Shâhjahânpur . . .	9	1,224	3	...	...	157	...	7	49	295	196	1,940
Pilibhît	2	396	...	...	2	15	...	...	...	31	89	535
Cawnpur	...	367	11	13	58	3,883	8	4	...	2,421	121	6,886
Fatehpur	...	15	57	109	1	1,290	109	...	5	2,030	138	3,754
Bânda	...	85	137	197	...	1,542	20	...	25	940	16	2,961
Hamîrpur	8	254	78	69	12	1,384	42	...	...	1,079	...	2,926
Allahâbad	25	21	83	24	2	218	6	18	911	3,947	1,592	6,847
Jhânsi	55	416	91	13	3	33	...	...	...	809	...	1,420
Jâlaun	4	979	125	58	...	114	...	...	...	702	3	1,985
Lalitpur	...	344	24	29	3	12	26	...	...	469	2	909
Benares	...	...	392	...	2	8	...	...	713	848	479	2,442
Mirzapur	...	...	244	...	...	3	...	...	1,397	322	657	2,623
Jaunpur	...	...	2,177	...	...	185	...	...	1,363	558	1,383	5,666

Distribution of Bhâts according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Bhâradwâj.	Biram.	Dasaundhi.	Gajbhim.	Jâga.	Koliya.	Mahâpâtra.	Râé.	Rajbhat.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total
Ghâzipur	53	...	65	...	...	...	...	...	873	560	1,086	2,637
Ballia	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	272	179	832	1,284
Gorakhpur	9	7	1,316	...	...	...	...	19	1,583	1,115	2,146	6,195
Basti	245	559	1,982	47	...	...	...	2	...	32	2,974	5,841
Azamgarh	6	...	153	...	...	...	...	7	756	1,354	1,631	3,907
Tarâi	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	7	...	279	20	309
Lucknow	...	53	27	...	...	1,223	38	...	...	649	577	2,567
Unâo	19	266	...	46	...	2,854	94	...	...	2,224	657	6,160
Râê Bareli	38	11	46	9	...	1,230	348	10	31	3,111	165	4,999
Sîtapur	4	162	19	...	...	1,817	4	...	...	1,312	2,152	5,470
Hardoi	...	1,257	...	...	...	2,185	...	2	...	128	900	4,472
Kheri	...	869	22	...	...	590	...	22	...	293	1,046	2,842
Faizâbâd	7	...	64	...	...	103	113	...	1,067	3,696	2,040	7,090

Gonda	...	...	2,556	...	...	...	21	52	103	1,490	320	4,542
Bahrâich	...	1	666	53	...	255	28	19	1	1,585	2,737	5,345
Sultânpur	...	...	257	...	...	304	...	316	732	4,491	942	7,042
Fartâbgarh	...	...	100	14	...	...	...	184	155	5,482	1,194	7,129
Fârabanki	61	...	148	56	...	1,262	116	65	1,000	2,842	1,190	6,740
TOTAL	605	22,631	11,822	884	1,742	22,615	1,009	1,448	11,126	57,588	29,463	160,933

Bhathiyâra,[1]—(Sanskrit, *Bhrishtakâra*, "a preparer of roasted and fried meat").—The keepers of inns and cooking-houses and sellers of tobacco. Their business is the entertainment of travellers, and their functions thus trench on the occupations of the baker (*nânbâi*); the preparer and seller of fried meat (*kabâb farosh*), and the tobacconist (*tambâkuwâla*). They trace their origin to Salîm Shâh, son of Shîr Shâh, who reigned between 1545 and 1552 A. D., and one tradition makes them out to be the descendants of members of the household establishments of Shîr Shâh and Salîm Shâh, who, after the overthrow of their masters by Humâyun, were doomed to servitude as attendants on travellers. The real name of Salîm Shâh was Jalâl or Islâm Shâh, and both he and his father still live in the traditions of the people. One proverb about them is *Kya legâya Shîr Shâh? Kya legâya Salîm Shâh?*—"In spite of their greatness what has Shîr Shâh or Salîm Shâh taken with him to the grave?". Another is *Shîr Shâh ki dârhi bari yâ Salîm Shâh ki?*—"Which had the longest beard, Shîr Shâh or Salîm Shâh?" *i. e.*, "What is the use of arguing over trifles?" The establishment of inns (*sarâi*) goes, however, back as far as the reign of Chandra Gupta. The traveller Terry writes:—"In this kingdom there are no Innes to entertain travellers; only in great Townes and Cities are faire houses built for their receipt, where any passenger may have roome freely, but must bring with him his Bedding, his Cooke and other necessaries."[2]

Tribal organisation.

2. In memory of their traditional origin they have two sub-divisions known as the Shîrshâhi and Salîmshâhi, who are distiguished by the women of the former wearing petticoats and the latter drawers. Another tradition, which is apparently based merely on the similarity of name, makes them out to be in some way connected with the Bhatti tribe. In the east of the Province there are two sub-divisions—Bhathiyâra and Hariyâra—which differ only in this, that the women of the former wear metal bangles (*mâthi*), and the latter those made of glass or lac. The Census Returns classify them under fifty-two clans, none of which are of much local importance, and display a curious mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan names, such as Bahlîm,

[1] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur, and notes by Mr. E. Rose, C. S., Collector of Farrukhâbâd, and Munshi Chhotê Lâll, Archæological Survey, Lucknow.

[2] Purchas, II, 1457, quoted in *Hobson Jobson, s. v. Serai.*

Bhîl, Chauhân, Chiryamâr, Jalkhatri, Madariya, Mukeri, Sadîqi, Nânbâi, Shirâzi, and Sulaimâni.

Marriage rules.

3. They profess to follow the ordinary Muhammadan laws of marriage, of which the *nikâh* is the binding portion. The two divisions, Salîmshâhi and Shîrshâhi, are said to be endogamous, because the women of the latter bear an indifferent reputation; in fact it is alleged that they are prostituted both before and after marriage. Dr. Buchanan[1] says:—"Many of their women, but by no means the greater part, refuse no favour to a liberal customer;" and Forster writes[2]:—"The stationary tenants of the serauee, many of them women, and some of them very pretty, approach the traveller on his entrance, and in alluring language describe to him the varied excellencies of their several lodgings." The levirate prevails, but is not compulsory on the widow. They follow the usual Muhammadan rules of divorce and inheritance.

Religion.

4. They are Muhammadans of the Sunni sect. To the east of the Province they reverence Ghâzi Miyân and the Pânchon Pîr, to whom sweetmeats and garlands of flowers are offered on the first Sunday in the month of Jeth. They bury their dead and offer to the spirits of deceased ancestors vermicelli (*siwaiyân*), and bread on the 'Id and the *halwa* sweetmeat on the Shab-i-barât. In former times, it is said, they used to consult Brâhmans in fixing an auspicious day for marriages—a practice which appears now to be abandoned. They do the usual third day (*tîja*) and fortieth day (*chehlam*) ceremony for the repose of the spirits of the dead.

Occupation.

5. Besides their special business of entertaining travellers they also catch fish, and are hence in the west of the Province, known as Mahigîr or "fishcatcher." Their women are known as Mehtarâni, a sort of mock honorific title. Of the Grand Trunk Road Dr. Buchanan writes[3]:—"On the great road more attention is shown to the real convenience of travellers than in any part of India which I have yet visited; and regular inns (sarâi, bhathiyârkhâna) are kept at convenient distances. Each inn consists of a number of distinct chambers, which are let by the night to any traveller or company, eight or ten persons

[1] *Eastern India, II.*, 289.
[2] *Travels*, I., 86, *Hobson Jobson*, 615.
[3] *Eastern India, loc. cit.*

travelling together often occupying one chamber. The chamber usually consists of a wretched straw hut, seven or eight cubits long and five or six wide, and is in general totally destitute of furniture; a few only afford a little straw or a mat to sleep on; but some kept by obliging nymphs have bedsteads, where favourites are received. The Bhathiyâras or keepers are low Muhammadans, such attention to strangers being incompatible with Hindu reserve. Each keeper, according to his means, has a number of chambers, which are usually disposed in a row (*alang*); and in most inns are several keepers whose rows of chambers surround squares or wide lanes, in which the cattle of carriages of the travellers stand. Hindus pay from one to two pice a night for each chamber, and Muhammadans pay double because the Bhathiyârin cooks for them. The keeper generally retails fire-wood, tobacco, and the charcoal balls used in smoking, and purchases for his guests whatever other article they want. Some of them also retail earthen ware and shoes. Hindus of the highest rank can sleep in such places, when no pure person will give them accommodation; but they, of course, can receive little or no assistance from the keeper, who cannot bring water that his guest will use, nor can the Brâhman cook in the inn. He must go to some pure place, and for that purpose usually selects the side of a river which in this country is the most common abode of Cloacina." In these inns the Bhathiyâra women are said often to act as go-betweens (*saparda*). Some add to their income by keeping pony or bullock carts (*ekka, bahli*).

Distribution of the Bhâthiyâras according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Dera Dûn . .	10		
Sahâranpur . . .	280	Mathura . . .	658
Muzaffarnagar . .	396	Agra	1,588
Meerut . . .	802	Farrukhâbâd . .	851
Bulandshahr . . .	884	Mainpuri . . .	1,136
Aligarh . . .	1,984	Etâwah . . .	947

Distribution of the Bhâthiyâras according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Etah	1,244	Ballia	78
Bareilly	4,488	Gorakhpur	112
Bijnor	729	Basti	160
Budâun	2,607	Azamgarh	401
Morâdâbâd	1,147	Tarâi	51
Shâhjahânpur	1,601	Lucknow	548
Pilibhît	660	Unâo	311
Cawnpur	750	Râê Bareli	136
Fatehpur	634	Sîtapur	215
Bânda	56	Hardoi	493
Hamîrpur	57	Kheri	126
Allahâbâd	1,542	Faizâbâd	228
Jhânsi	24	Gonda	135
Jâlaun	38	Bahrâich	84
Benares	793	Sultânpur	284
Mirzapur	248	Partâbgarh	34
Jaunpur	450	Barâbanki	404
Ghâzipur	254		
		Total	30,658

Bhatiya.[1] A tribe of money-dealers and traders found in these Provinces only in Mathura. Of those in the Panjâb Mr. Ibbetson writes:[2]—"The Bhatiyas are a class of Râjputs, originally coming from Bhatner, Jaysalmer, and the Rajputâna Desert, who

[1] Entirely based on a note by Munshi Atma Râm, Head Master, High School, Mathura.

[2] *Punjâb Ethnography*, 297.

have taken to domestic pursuits. The name would seem to show that they were Bhâtis (called Bhatti in the Panjâb); but be that as it may, their Râjput origin seems to be unquestioned. They are numerous in Sindh and Gujarât, where they appear to form the leading mercantile element, and to hold the place which the Aroras occupy higher up the Indus. They have spread into the Panjâb along the lower valleys of the Indus and Sutlej, and up the whole length of the Chenâb as high as its debouchure into the plains, being indeed most numerous in Siâlkot and Gujarât. They stand distinctively below the Khatri, and perhaps below the Arora, and are for the most part engaged in petty shop-keeping, though the Bhatiyas of Dehra Ismail Khân are described as belonging to a widely-spread and enterprising mercantile community. They are often supposed to be Khatris, and in Jahlam they are said to follow the Khatri divisions of Bhari, Bunjâhi, Dhâighar, Châzâti, etc. They are very strict Hindus, far more so than the other trading classes of the Western Punjâb; and eschew meat and liquor. They do not practise widow-marriage."

Tribal tradition of the Mathura Bhatiyas.

2. The Bhatiyas of Mathura claim to be descended from a personage called Bhâti Sinh, from whom they take their name. He was the founder of the city and kingdom of Jaysalmer. It is related that the Yaduvansis, or descendants of Yadu, engaged in a deadly intestine quarrel, and of them only two escaped the general destruction—Odhu and Bajarnâbh. The latter lived at the time at the house of his maternal grand father, Râja Bânâsura. In return for the services which Sri Krishna, himself a Yaduvansi, had once rendered to Râja Parikshit, in protecting him while still in his mother's womb, the latter brought Bajarnâbh from Bânâsura's house and delivered to him the kingdom of Mathura and Indraprastha. Bajarnâbh ruled wisely and protected his subjects, and raised a temple in honor of Sri Krishna at Dwârika. Eighty of his successors ruled in succession at Mathura; but during the reign of the last, Râja Jay Sinh, Râja Ajaypâl of Biyâna invaded Mathura, and, in the battle which ensued, Jay Sinh was killed, and his three sons, Bijaypâl, Ajây Râj, and Bijay Râj, fled to Karauli. Bijaypâl, the eldest of the three, gained the kingdom of Karauli, but he quarrelled with his brothers, and they retired to a forest in the neighbourhood of Karauli, where they devoted themselves to the worship of Ambâmâna Devi. At the end of a year of devotion, when they failed to propitiate the goddess

they determined to gain her favour by offering their heads to her in a furnace (*bhatti*). Pleased with this final act of piety the deity appeared to them and desired them to crave a boon from her. They answered that as Kshatriyas they needed a kingdom. Whereupon the Devi ordered Ajay Râj to go towards the West and found a kingdom in the Rajputâna Desert, and henceforth to call himself Bhâti Sinh, as he had been saved from the burning fiery furnace. He followed her orders and founded the kingdom of Jaysalmer, and there established his tribe under the name of Bhattis or Bhatiyas.

3. Here it may be noted that the Jaysalmer tradition is different from this.[1] "Pryâg or Allahâbâd was the cradle of the race, after which Mathura remained the seat of the Yaduvansi power for a long period. On the death of Sri Krishna, the deified leader of the Jâdons, from whom the Bhatti Râjputs claim descent, the tribe became dispersed; many of them abandoned Hindustân, among them two of the sons of Krishna, who proceeded northward along the Indus, and settled there. Some time after this one of their descendants being defeated and killed in a battle, the tribe was driven southward into the Panjâb, where Sâlivâhana, son of Gaj, founded a town called after his name, and conquered the whole region. His grandson was named Bhatti; he was a great warrior and conquered many of the neighbouring princes, and from him the patronymic was changed, and the tribe was henceforth distinguished by his name. Shortly after this the tribe was again driven southward by the King of Ghazni, and crossing the Sutlej found refuge in the Indian Desert, which was henceforth to be their home. This traditional account may represent in outline the early migrations of the Bhatti tribe, which may be supposed to have entered India from the north-west under heroic leaders now deified as the sons of Krishna, and to have settled for some time in the Panjâb. One of the grand expeditions of Mahmûd of Ghazni was against the city of Bhattia, also called Bhera, which place is now said to have been on the left bank of the Jahlam, opposite the Salt Range. Mr. E. Thomas considers that the four last Hindu Kings of Kâbul, before the Ghaznavis, may have been Bhatiya Râjputs."

Internal organisation.

4. The Mathura story runs that when the Bhatiyas left their Western home and came to Mathura they had considerable difficulty in finding allian-

[1] *Râjputâna Gazetteer*, II., 170.

ces for their children, because having by this time taken to trade the Râjputs of the neighbourhood were unwilling to intermarry with them. They accordingly convened a meeting of the caste at Multân, and there consulted learned Brâhmans and the books of the law, and it was after great discussion decided that a man might marry within his own tribe in a family removed from himself by forty-nine degrees, and that the families thus removed should each form a *nukh* or exogamous group. These *nukhs* were designated after some person, village, or occupation, such as the *nukh* Râêhariya was named after Râê Hari Singh; Râê Gajariya after the village Gajariya, and Râê Tâmbol after a Tâmboli or seller of betel. This story describes in a very interesting way the manner in which new exogamous and endogamous groups are formed.

5. The following are the names of the Mathura *gotras* with the *nukhs* which each includes:—

(1) Parâsara *gotra* including twenty-three *nukhs*:—Râê Gajariya; Râê Panchloriya; Râê Palîja; Râê Gagla; Râê Sarâki; Râê Soni; Râê Suphla; Râê Jiya; Râê Mogaya; Râê Ghaga; Râê Rîka; Râê Jaydhan; Râê Korhaiya; Râê Kova; Râê Rariya; Râê Kajariya; Râê Sijballa; Râê Jiyâla; Râê Malan; Raê Dhava; Râê Dhîran; Râê Jagta; Râê Nisât.

(2) Sanras *gotra* containing eleven *nukhs* as follows:—Râê Dutaya; Râê Jabba; Râê Nâgobabla; Râê Suâra; Râê Dhawan; Râê Danda; Râê Dhaga; Raê Kandhiya; Râê Udesi; Râê Bâdhûcha; Râê Balâyê.

(3) Bhâradwâj *gotra* with the following eighteen *nukhs*:—Râê Hariya; Râê Padamshi; Râê Maidaya; Râê Chandan; Râê Khiyâra; Râê Thula; Râê Sodhiya; Râê Bora; Râê Mochha; Râê Tâmbol; Râê Lakhanbanta; Râê Dhakkar; Râê Bhudariya; Râê Mota; Râê Anghar; Râê Dhadhâl; Râê Degchanda; Râê Asar.

(4) Sudharvans *gotra* with the following eight *nukhs*:—Râê Sapta; Râê Chhachhaiya; Râê Nagara; Râê Gâthababla; Râê Parmala; Râê Potha; Râê Ponrdhagga; Râê Mathura.

(5) Madhobadhas *gotra* including the following eleven *nukhs*:—Râê Ved; Râê Surya; Râê Gugalgandhi; Râê Nâêgandhi; Râê Panchal; Râê Phurâsgândhi; Râê Parêgândhi; Râê Jujargândhi; Râê Praima; Râê Bibal; Râê Povar.

(6) Devdâs *gotra* including the following nine *nukhs*:—Râê Ramaiya; Râê Pawâr; Râê Râja; Râê Parijiya; Râê Kapûr; Râê Gurugulâb; Râê Dhâdhar; Râê Kartari; Râê Kukaur.

(7) Rishivâns *gotra* consisting of the following four *nukhs* :— Râê Multâni ; Râê Chamuja ; Râê Daiya ; Râê Karangona.

6. The Census Returns supply them with a set of sections most of which are of the Banya type, such as Agarwâla, Belwâr, Bhâlê, Bhorâr, Bhudi, Bohra, Gaur, Jaysalmer, Kain, Madkul, Maheswari, Mârwâri, Oswâl, Palliwâl, Râhtu, Sahasri.

Marriage rules.

7. Marriages may take place between members of the same *gotra*, but not of the same *nukh*. There is no exact formula of exogamy ; but a man cannot marry among his near relations on the father's or mother's side, and the same rule applies to women. Differences of religion, provided both parties are followers of some form of Hinduism, and changes of occupation, are not a bar to intermarriage ; but differences of local or geographical position are a bar. Thus intermarriages between Bhatiyas of Bombay, Kachh, and Gujarât, and those of the Panjâb, Sindh, and the North-Western Provinces, are not permitted. Thus Bhatiyas may be divided into the following two endogamous groups based on geographical position :—The first group consists of Kâchhis, Halâis, Prijas, Kathiâwâris, Gujarâtis and Bhatiyas of Dhârangânw. The second group consists of Bhatiyas of Jaysalmer, Sindh, the Panjâb, and the North-Western Provinces. As a rule no Bhatiya can take a second wife in the lifetime of the first, unless she be barren or unfaithful to her husband, in which case she will be expelled from caste. In no case can the number exceed two, and that limit is seldom reached. When a Bhatiya happens to have two wives they live under the same roof and enjoy the same privileges in every respect. In the case of girls marriage must be performed before the age of twelve : there is no time fixed in the case of males. Marriage is arranged by the friends in both sides, and there are no marriage brokers. The children of both marriages, should a man have two wives, rank equally for purposes of inheritance. Widow marriage is not allowed, and the offspring of an illicit connection are not admitted into the caste, and do not rank as heirs to the estate of their father. An unfaithful wife is excommunicated, and so is a man who openly keeps a concubine.

Marriage ceremonies.

8. At the betrothal the father of the girl sends what is called the *sagun*, consisting of one rupee, a cocoanut, and some coarse sugar, for the boy, which is given to him in the presence of the brethren, who are invited to be in attendance, and the betrothal is thus complete. The ceremony

presupposes the mutual consent of the parents of the parties. Betrothal is generally not reversible, and is not annulled except on the discovery of some very serious physical defect in either bride or bridegroom, and, if annulled, the expenses are repaid by the party breaking the engagement, though there is no distinct rule on the subject. Betrothal may take place any time before marriage. The marriage ceremony is of the orthodox type, and the binding part of it is the giving away of the bride (*kanyádán*) and the perambulation (*pheron phirna*) round the sacred fire. The marriage is complete and irreversible when the fourth circuit is finished. Pokharnê Brâhmans act as priests at marriage and other ceremonies.

Occupation.

9. The chief occupation of the Bhatiyas is money-lending, and to this they add trade of all kinds—agriculture, landholding, and Government service. Many of them go on expeditions to Arabia, Kâbul, Bokhâra, and other distant places on business. Many in Bombay carry on trade with Zanzibar, Java, and the Malay Peninsula. Their religion continues to be mainly Vedik; but some have become followers of Vallabhachârya. The Bhatiyas of these Provinces in appearance, customs, and dress, strongly resemble Khatris; but between the two castes there seems to be no real connection.

Distribution of the Bhatiyas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Mathura	264
Cawnpur	1
Total .	265

Bhatti—(Sanskrit, *bhátta*, "lord").—A Râjput sept. Of the Panjâb branch Mr. Ibbetson[1] writes:—"Bhatti, the Panjâb form of the Rajputâna word Bhâti, is the title of the great modern representatives of the ancient Yaduvansi Royal Râjput family, descendants of Krishna, and therefore of Lunar race. Their traditions tell that in very ancient times they were driven across the Indus; but that, returning, they dispossessed the Langah, Joya, and others of the country south of the Lower Sutlej, some seven centuries ago, and

[1] *Panjâb Ethnography, section* 448.

founded Jaysalmer. This State they still hold, though their territory has been greatly circumscribed since the advent of the Râthaur; but they still form a large proportion of the Râjput subjects of the Râthaur Râjas of Bikâner. At one time their possessions in those parts included the whole of Sirsa and the adjoining portions of Hissâr and the tract still known as Bhatiyâna. The story current in Hissâr is that Bhatti, the leader under whom the Bhattis recrossed the Indus, had two sons, Dûsal and Jaysal, of whom the latter founded Jaysalmer, while the former settled in Bhatiyâna. From Dûsal sprang the Sidhu and Barâr Jât tribes, while his grandson Rajpâl was the ancestor of the Wattu. According to General Cunningham the Bhattis originally held the Salt Range Tract and Kashmîr, their capital being Gajnipur, or the site of the modern Râwalpindi, but about the second century before Christ they were driven across the Jahlam by the Indo-Scythians, and their leader, the Râja Rasâlu, of Panjâb tradition, founded Siâlkot. The invaders, however, followed them up, and dispersed them and drove them to take refuge in the country south of the Satlaj, though their rule in the Kashmîr valley remained unbroken till 1339 A. D.

2. "The Bhatti is still by far the largest and most widely distributed of the Râjput tribes of the Panjâb. It is found in immense numbers along the lower Satlaj and Indus, though on the former often, and on the latter always classed as Jât. It is hardly less numerous on the Chanâb, the Upper Satlaj, and on the Biyâs; it is naturally strong in Bhatiyâna; there is a large colony in the Delhi District, while it is perhaps most numerous of all in the seats of its ancient power—in Siâlkot, Gujarât, and the Salt Range country. And if we reckon as Bhatti the Sidhu and Barar Jâts of the Mâlwa, we shall leave no portion of the Panjâb in which a large Bhatti population is not to be found.

3. "Yet it is strange if the Bhatti did hold so large a portion of the Panjâb, as General Cunningham alleges, how almost universally they trace their origin to Bhatner in Bhatiyâna, or at least to its neighbourhood. Either they were expelled wholly from the Upper Panjâb, and have since returned to their ancient seats, or else the glory of their later has overshadowed that of their earlier dynasties, and Bhatner and Bhatiyâna have become the city and country of the Bhatti from which all good Bhatti trace their origin. The subject population of Bikâner is largely composed of Bhatti, while Jaysalmer is a Bhatti State; and it seems impossible that if

the Bhatti of the higher Satlaj are immigrants, and not the descendants of the old Bhatti who escaped expulsion, they should not have come largely from both these States, and moreover, should not have followed the river valleys in their advance. Yet the tradition almost always skips all intermediate steps, and carries as straight back to that ancient city of Bhatner on the banks of the long, dry Ghaggar, in the Bikâner territory bordering on Sirsa. The Wattu Bhatti of Montgomery, while tracing their origin from Râja Sâlivâhana, the father of Raja Rasâlu of Siâlkot, say that their more immediate ancestors came from Bhatner; the Nûn Bhatti of Multân trace their origin to the Delhi country, while the Bhatti of Muzaffargarh, Jhang, Gujrânwâla, Siâlkot, Jahlam, and Pindi, all look back to Bhatner as the home of their ancestors. It is possible either that Bhatner is used merely as a traditional expression, or that when the Ghaggar dried up or the Râthaur conquered Bikâner, the Bhatti were driven to find new homes in the plains of the Punjâb. Indeed, Mr. Wilson states that in Sirsa or the old Bhatiyâna, the term Bhatti is commonly applied to any Musalmân Jât or Râjput from the direction of the Satlaj as a generic term almost synonymous with Rath or Pachhâda."

Bhattis of these Provinces.

4. In these Provinces[1] they are also known as Jaiswâr. They claim to be Jâdons who returned from beyond the Indus in the seventh or eighth century. A large number of them became Muhammadans in the time of Qutb-ud-dîn and Ala-ud-dîn. They say they came to Bulandshahr under Kansal, or as others say, Deo and Kârê, in the time of Prithivi Râja, having ejected the Meos. They are divided into two clans—Bhatti and Jaiswâr. The former is the superior of the two, the latter having intermarried with spurious Râjputs. A majority of the clan are now reckoned as Gûjars. Another story is that they are descended from Râja Dalîp, son of Jaswant Rao of Nâna Mau, near Bithûr. He had two sons, Bhatti and Rânghar; their descendants settled in Bhatiyâna; the branch converted to Islâm was called Rânghar. The national dress is not trousers and waist cloth, but a broad sheet of coarse cloth, plain or checked, which reaches from the neck to the ankle and is tied at the waist. The wife of Tuglaq Shâh and mother of Fîroz Shâh was a Bhatti woman. The

[1] Râja Lachman Sinh, *Bulandshahr Memo* : 162.

Muhammadan Bhattis along the Kâli Nadi in the Etah District are a turbulent, idle set, much dreaded by their neighbours.

5. In the Upper Duâb they are reported to give brides to the Chauhân, Gahlot, Tomar, Panwâr, Kachhwâha, and other high class Râjputs, and to marry their sons in the Bargujar, Chauhân, Kachhwâha, Pundîr, and other high and middle class septs.

Distribution of the Bhatti Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	...	39	39
Sahâranpur	37	443	480
Muzaffarnagar	80	343	423
Meerut	180	...	180
Bulandshahr	3,482	2,455	5,937
Aligarh	5	576	581
Mathura	...	49	49
Agra	...	1	1
Farrukhâbâd	10	1,177	1,187
Mainpuri	...	8	8
Etah	80	2,671	2,751
Bareilly	...	3,762	3,762
Budâun	587	...	587
Morâdâbâd	...	514	514
Shâhjahânpur	33	...	33
Cawnpur	...	25	25
Allahâbâd	...	41	41
Ghâzipur	...	854	854
Gorakhpur	125	66	191
Azamgarh	...	25	25
Tarâi	...	86	86

Distribution of the Bhatti Rajputs according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Lucknow	...	75	75
Unâo	...	112	112
Sîtapur	...	10	10
Hardoi	...	198	198
Kher	...	195	195
Faizâbâd	...	2	2
Gonda	...	34	34
Bahraich	...	267	267
Sultânpur	...	137	137
Partâbgarh	...	1,652	1,652
Bârabanki	...	1,353	1,353
Total	4,619	17,170	21,789

Bhikha Sâhib.—A sect among the Râjputs of Ballia, of which the following account is given in the *District Gazetteer* :—"There was a devotee in Delhi whose name was Shâh Muhammad Yâri. In his time a certain zamîndâr of Bhirkura, named Mardan Sinh, was arrested for default of payment of revenue, and sent by the Viceroy (Sûbahdâr) to Delhi, where he was imprisoned. A servant, who had attended Mohan Sinh, paid visits in his leisure hours to Muhammad Yâri Shâh. One day the devotee enquired what he was and where he lived. On this the servant narrated the circumstances of his master's imprisonment and of his own presence there.

'Go and tell your master,' said the devotee, 'that he will be set free to-morrow by the order of the Minister of State, and that he should then present himself to me?' Mardan Sinh was actually released the next day, and, as directed, attended on Muhammad Yâri Shâh. After several days' attendance and devotion, the devotee expressed himself satisfied, and directed Mardan Sinh to proceed to his own country, and there worship the Âtma, and show mercy to the poor and hungry.

2. He also gave him a *seli* or necklace of black silk, worn as a distinguishing mark by the Chief, who sits on the cushion (*gaddi*) when he has occasion to go to his disciples. Mardan Sinh was further instructed by Muhammad Yâri Shâh to observe the following ceremony. At the time of making a disciple, a *kanthi*, or sacred garland, is to be put round his neck, and the disciple is enjoined to repeat constantly the invocation *Râm ! Râm !* and never to take life or tyrannize over any one. Mardan Sinh on his return to Bhirkura made one Bhikha his disciple, and the latter finally settled in Baragâon. This happened some four hundred years ago, and the Bhikha Sâhib *gaddi* or seat was thus founded. It may be noticed in regard to the above account that a Muhammadan Faqîr is represented as enjoining the repetition of the strictly Hindu formula *Râm ! Râm !* If the legend is a correct statement of fact, the circumstance is an interesting illustration of the partial amalgamation of Muhammadan and Hindu forms, which we know is the aim of some of the Vaishnava reformers."

3. At the last Census the sect of Bhikha Sâhib included 1,227 votaries.

Bhîl—(Sanskrit, *Bhilla*).—We have in these Provinces only a few fragments of the great Bhîl race of Central India. Professor Lassen identifies them with the Phyllitæ of Ptolemy, whom Colonel Yule classes with the Pulinda, a general term for various aboriginal races. According to Dr. Caldwell the name Bhilla (*vil, bil*) means "a bow."[1] There is a curious early Hindu legend, which, however, is not found in the Mahâbhârata, which tells how Drona, the preceptor of the Pândavas, was jealous of the skill of the Bhîl Râja in archery, and directed him and his subjects to cut off the forefinger of the right hand.[2] Another story tells that Mahâdeva was one day reclining sick in the forest, when a beautiful damsel appeared, the first sight of whom effected a cure for all his pain. The result of their meeting was the birth of many children, one of whom, distinguished for his ugliness, slew the favourite bull of Mahâdeva, for which crime he was expelled to the woods and mountains, and his descendants have been the outcast Bhîls. They still call them-

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, XIII., 361. General Cunningham takes Phyllitæ to correspond to *parna* and to mean "leaf clad" like the Juangs up to the present day. Dr. Oppert seems to consider Phyllitæ as derived from Bhîl. *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa*, 80, *sq.*

[2] Wheeler, *History of India*, I., 84, *sq*: *Westminster Review*, 1868, page 387.

selves "thieves of Mahâdeva."[1] There can be little doubt that they are a branch of the great Dravidian race which is found along the mountains of Central India, and are akin to the Gonds, Kharwârs, Mânjhis, Cheros, and Santâls, who live further to the eastward. Sir J. Malcolm[2] thinks that they have emigrated from Jodhpur and Udaypur to their present territory, and as a proof that they were originally lords of the land, he points to the fact of their giving the *tîka* to some of the existing Râjput princes. The most solemn form of oath among them is mixing cowdung, salt, and the *jawâri* millet, and lifting the mixture over their heads.[3] They have, like many of the indigenous tribes, some relations with the local gods, and are priests to one of the most ancient temples in Omkâr. According to Sir A. Lyall[4] they are divided into a variety of distinct groups, a few based on a reputed common descent, but most of them apparently muddled together by simple contiguity of habitation, or the natural banding together of the number necessary for maintaining and defending themselves. Sir J. Malcolm says that the Bhîl women are invariably the advocates of the cause of good order. They have much influence, and the principal hope of an enemy's escape lies in the known humanity of the women. They worship peculiarly Sîtala, the small-pox goddess, and Mahâdeva, from whom they claim descent.[5] The chief historical tradition regarding them in these Provinces is that they were formerly rulers in Rohilkhand, whence they were expelled by the Janghâra Râjputs.[6] The clans recorded at the last Census in these Provinces were the Guranawa, Jaiswâr, Karâwai, Majhûraya, Munaharbhâl, Râma, and Râwat.

Manners and customs.

2. The best available account of the manners and customs of the real Bhîls is that given by a writer in the *Rajputâna Gazetteer*:[7]—"All Bhîls go about armed with the tribal weapons, bows and arrows; except the headmen and others of consequence, who carry swords. They are a dirty race. The men wear their hair long, and hanging in uncombed

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[1] Captain Hunter, *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, VIII., 181: Malcolm, *Central India*, I., 526.

[2] *Ibid*, I., 519.

[3] Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, 172.

[4] *Asiatic Studies*, 160.

[5] *Ibid*, II., 180, *sq*.

[6] *Bareilly Settlement Report*, 19: *Gazetteer, North-West Provinces*, V., 578, *sq*.

[7] I., 177, *sqq*; III., 64, 114.

masses from their shoulders. Their women are small and ugly, those of rank being distinguishable by the number of brass rings on their legs, often extending from the ankle to the knee. They kill and eat kine and are much addicted to spirits, vast quantities of which are consumed on festive occasions, which frequently end in quarrels and bloodshed. Fond of fighting, they resort to their weapons on the slightest provocation, but their most serious affrays arise out of cattle-lifting and the abduction of women. If a Bhîl run away with a betrothed girl, a feud will frequently ensue, which will not end till the villages of both sides have been burnt and many lives lost. As a rule they keep tolerably quiet in the winter and the rainy season; but in the summer, between the gathering in of the last harvest and the sowing of the next, they begin raiding on each other; and even the richest think this time, which hangs heavily on their hands, favourable for paying off old scores. There are sixty different sections of the Bhîl tribe in Bânswâra.

3. "Bhîl children are not betrothed by their parents in their childhood. A Bhîl girl is often unmarried up to the age of twenty or twenty-five. Her father can take no steps of his own accord for his daughter's marriage; were he to do, suspicion would be aroused that there was something wrong with the girl. His friends can take steps on his behalf, but he himself must wait for a proposal from the father of some eligible lad, which he can entertain or not as he pleases. Should he accept the proposal, the lad's father, having provided himself with a couple of pots of liquor, will return to complete the ceremony of betrothal (*sagari*), sitting down under some large tree or other cool spot in the village. The girl's father and his friends join them, and the question as to the amount of money to be paid by the father of the lad to the father of the girl is there and then disposed of. This amount varies according to the means and status of the parties concerned from thirty to sixty rupees. When this is settled, the father of the boy makes a cup of leaves of the *Dhâk* tree (*Butea frondosa*), and placing it on the top of the pot of liquor, puts inside it two annas worth of copper coins. The girl's brother or some other boy among her relations then takes the coin and turns the cup of leaves upside down. The betrothal is then complete; and nothing remains but to drink the liquor, which is done on the spot. The girl's father then kills a goat and gives a

Marriage.

feast to his future son-in-law and his father, after which the latter return home.

4. "Some four or six months after the betrothal arrangements for the wedding are set on foot. The boy's father takes a present of clothes, a sheet (*sâri*), a petticoat, and a corset for the girl, who at once puts them on. Her father, if well off, kills a buffallo, if poor, a goat, and gives a feast to all the village, and to the boy's father and all his friends. On this occasion a Brâhman is called in, and on receipt of four annas from each father, fixes some auspicious day for the wedding. Half the amount previously fixed upon is now paid to the girl's father in cash, and the remainder in kind, in the shape of a bullock, etc. On the day fixed by the Brâhman for the wedding, the boy, after being well annointed with *pît*, a mixture of turmeric, flour, etc., proceeds to the girl's house, accompanied by all his friends and relations. They halt at the borders of the village, whither the girl's father, with all his friends, and accompanied by drummers and women singing, proceeds to meet them; and after performing the ceremony of *tilak*, that is marking the boy on the forehead with saffron, escorts them into the village, and settles them down under some large tree or in some other convenient spot. The girl's father then returns to his house, and the boy's father pays certain customary dues.

5. "On the evening of the wedding day a great feast is given by the bride's father; and the bride and bridegroom are provided with a separate hut for the night, while their friends get drunk. Next morning the bride's father presents his daughter with a bullock or a cow, or with any other worldly goods with which he may wish to endow her, and after presenting the boy's father with a turban gives him leave to depart.

Funeral rites.

6. "The following are the ceremonies said to be performed by the Bhîls on occasions of death. When a man dies a natural death, his corpse is covered with white cloths, and a supply of food in the shape of flour, clarified butter and sugar, uncooked (called *sâra*), is placed by his side for use on his journey to the next world. They are afterwards thrown into the water by the side of which he is burnt. A small copper coin is also thrown on the ground when the corpse is burnt, apparently as a sort of fee for the use of the ground for the purpose. Three days after the body has been burnt, the ashes are thrown into the water, and a cairn is raised on the spot by the people present, who

wring out their clothes over the stones after bathing. On the twelfth day after death, all friends, far and near, assemble for the *kâta* or mortuary feast, for which the heir of the deceased, if well-to-do in the world, will have provided some two hundred rupees worth of spirits. In the morning the ceremony of the *arad* is commenced, and lasts generally throughout the day.

7. "The Bhopa, or witch-finder of the village, is seated on a wooden platform, and places near him a big earthen pot with a brass dish over the mouth of it. A couple of Bhîls beat this with drum sticks, at the same time singing funeral dirges. The spirit of the deceased is now supposed to enter the heart of the Bhopa, and through him to demand whatever it may want. Should the man have died a natural death, the spirit will call for milk, ghi, etc., and will repeat through the Bhopa the words he said just before his death. Whatever is demanded is at once supplied to the Bhopa, who smells the articles given to him and puts them down by his side. Should the deceased have died a violent death, the Bhopa generally calls for a bow and arrows, or for a gun, whichever the deceased was killed with, and works himself up into much excitement, going through the motions of firing, shouting the war cry, etc. The spirits of the ancestors of the deceased are also called up by the Bhopa, and the same ceremonies are gone through with them. In the evening the Bhîl Jogi appears on the scene and goes through various ceremonies. He is first of all provided with twelve *sers* of wheat flour and five *sers* maize flour, which he places in front of the bier of the deceased. The Jogi then plants his brass image of a horse on the top of the flour and sticks an arrow in front of it, and also some small copper coins. Two empty jars, the mouths tied up, one with red and the other with white cloth, are also placed by him in front of the horse. A rope is next tied round the horse's neck. The Jogi then calls out the names of the ancestors of the deceased, at the same time signifying to the heir that now is the time for him to give alms or religious grants to the memory of his father or ancestors, which appeal is generally responded to; and a cow is given to the Jogi. The heir after this directs the Jogi to provide the deceased with food. The Jogi cooks some rice and milk and pours it into a hole he has dug in the ground. He also pours in an ewer full of liquor and drops in a copper coin and then fills up the hole again with earth. Other mystic rites

follow; the heir makes presents to the Jogi, and the family friends give presents to the heir. The ceremonies conclude with some hard drinking. The next day the relatives of the deceased give a feast to the village, each relation providing something towards this feast,—one rice, another ghi, and so forth. The honour of providing a buffalo belongs to the son-in-law of the deceased, and failing him, the brother-in-law and the brother.

Widow marriage.

8. "The widow of the deceased, if young, is now asked by all the relatives whether she wishes to remain in her late husband's house or to be married again—a ceremony called *nâtra*. If she, as she generally does, wishes to be married again, she replies that she will return to her father's house. If the deceased has a younger brother, he will at once step forward and assert that he will not allow her to go away to any other man's house; and going up to her he throws his cloak over the widow, who thus becomes his wife, and is taken away by him to his house there and then. Eight days afterwards, when she is supposed to have done mourning for her late husband, her new husband supplies her with a set of armlets in the place of those given by her former lord, which are taken off. The *nâtra* is then complete. The younger brother is not, however, compelled to keep his brother's widow should he not wish to do so, but it is such a point of honour that a boy even will claim and exercise the right. Should the deceased have no younger brother, then the widow is taken away by her father or relations eight days after the *kâta*. She will remain at her father's house for a month or two, when either she will be given away in *nâtra* to some man with her father's consent or she will run off and take up her quarters in some man's house without his consent. The man she flies to may not wish her to come, and may have no idea of her intention to do so; but nevertheless, once she has placed herself under his protection he is in honour bound to keep her, and she remains as his wife. The widow can go to any man she pleases provided he be of a different section to that of her father.

9. "Should the father have given his widowed daughter away in *nâtra*, her late husband's heir will at once pick a quarrel and demand satisfaction from him. As a preliminary step the heir generally attacks the widow's father and burns down his house, after which, in course of time, a committee (*panchâyat*) is generally appointed to settle

the dispute, when a sum of money, varying from fifty to two hundred rupees, according to the means of the parties, is awarded to the heir in compensation. The father will then in his turn demand repayment from his son-in-law, and should the latter refuse to pay up, he proceeds to burn down his house and make himself otherwise objectionable till his claim is satisfied. Should the widow run off, as she generally does, without her father's or relatives' consent, her deceased husband's heir will at once attack the man to whose protection she has gone.

10. "Should some unmarried and unbetrothed girl take a fancy to and run off with some young man, her father and brothers, as soon as they have found out where she has gone to, at once attack and burn his house, or in the event of their being unable to do that they burn any house in the village which comes handy. This most probably is resented and retaliated, and the quarrel may be prolonged for some time, but, as a rule, a *panchâyat* is sooner or later appointed to settle the dispute. The compensation awarded to the girl's father never exceeds one hundred rupees. A hole is dug in the ground and filled with water. The girl's father and his son-in-law then each drop a stone into it, and their quarrel is finally settled. The *panchâyat* and party then consume some liquor at the son-in-law's expense, and depart in peace.

11. "Should an unmarried and unbetrothed girl refuse to run off with a man when asked to do so, the man will generally shout out in the village that he has taken so-and-so's daughter's hand, and woe to him who dares to marry her. A *panchâyat* is then assembled, and the father generally gives his daughter to the man, receiving double the compensation that would have been awarded had the girl consented to marry him in the first instance. Should a girl unmarried, but who has been betrothed, run off with somebody else, the man to whom she was betrothed at once attacks and possibly kills the man whom she has run off with, and burns both his and the girl's father's huts. The quarrel often goes on for years, and leads to retaliation, till the entire village community on either side are drawn into the quarrel and turn out and attack each other.

12. "Should a wife run away from her husband to somebody else, the injured husband and his friends often burn the whole of the village in which the recipient of the faithless wife's favours lives Eventually, when a *panchâyat* is formed, the wife is often given up and taken back by her husband, any children that she may have

borne in the meantime being left with their father. Should the man refuse to give her up, then some two hundred rupees is awarded to the husband in compensation by the *panchâyat*, not to mention the liquor required by the latter during their consultation.

Death customs.

13. "The Bhîls erect stone tablets in memory of their male dead (never to deceased women) and, as a rule, the figure of the deceased is carved on the stone. He is often represented on horseback with sword, lance, or shield, sometimes on foot, but invariably clothed in the best of long clothes and armed with a sword and shield,—a style of dress he was quite unaccustomed to in the flesh. Tablets are also erected to boys who have died while still minors; but instead of a figure of the deceased, a large hooded snake is carved on the stone.

Religion.

14. "Bhîls will eat the flesh of all animals, even that of a dead camel. Bhîls and Mînas having no order of priesthood, resort to the Guru of the Chamârs. These Gurus assume the appellations and badges of Brâhmans. They do not adopt disciples; but the office is hereditary, descending from the father to all the sons. The minstrel of the Bhîls is called Kamriya. The principal deities of the Bhîls and Mînas are Mâtâji and Devi. They also worship Agru. The Chauhân warrior-saint Gûgaji is much worshipped in Sirohi as a protector from the bite of the *nâg sânp* or cobra.[1] He is worshipped under the form of a warrior on horseback and also under the form of a cobra."

Distribution of the Bhîls according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Muzaffarnagar . . .	1	Morâdâbâd . . .	5
Agra	17	Jhânsi	109
Farrukhâbâd . . .	1	Tarâi	14
Mainpuri	5	Total .	190
Etâwah	1	Males	117
Etah	37	Females	73

[1] Some account of Gûga, known also as Zâhir Diwân, will be found in the *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore*, 133. At the last Census 122,991 persons returned themselves as his votaries.

Bhoksa, Bhuksa.[1]—A tribe akin to the Thârus who are found in the Tarâi and Bhâbar from Pilibhît District on the East to Chândpur on the Ganges on the West. There are a few scattered colonies in Dehra Dûn. There are three main sections of them, the Pûrabi or "Eastern" which lies east of the Râmganga and as far west as the Gola or Sârda, where the Thârus begin; the Pachhami or "Western" which inhabits the Pâtli Dûn and Bijnor between the Râmganga and the Ganges; and a section reaching still further west from the Ganges to the Jumna. Between the Eastern and Western sections there is no friendly intercourse; each shuns the other, and the usual fictions are repeated about eating frogs and lizards.[2]

Appearance.

2. Dr. Stewart thus describes them in Bijnor.[3]—"The members of the tribe are of short stature and very sparse in habit, in both respects somewhat exceeding the ordinary Hindu peasant of the District, from whom, however, they do not differ much in general build or in complexion. The eyes are small; the opening of the eye lids being narrow, linear and horizontal (the inner angle not inclining downwards so far as observed); the face is very broad across the cheek bones, and the nose is depressed, thus increasing the general flatness of the face: the jaw is prognathous and the lower lip thick and the moustache and beard are very scanty." Some of these peculiarities are more marked in some individuals than in others, but one Bhoksa will always recognise another, though a Kumâuni says he only recognises them when they speak. The features of the women are similar to those of the men.

Traditions of origin.

3. Some of them claim to be Panwâr Râjputs, and "assert that their chief Udayjît was driven from house and home in a quarrel that he had with his brother Jagatdeo, the Râja of Dhâranagar, and came to dwell with a few followers at Banbasa on the Sârda. Udayjît had not been there long when his aid was solicited by the Râja of Kumaun, whose territories required defence against some of the neighbouring powers. Success attended the efforts of the Panwâr, and the gratitude of the Râja induced him

[1] For the Mahra Bhuksas mainly based on notes collected through Mr. G. A. Tweedy, C. S., Dehra Dûn.

[2] Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, II., 371: J. C. Nesfield, *Calcutta Review*, LXXX., 41.

[3] *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXXIV., II., 150.

to offer his defenders an asylum in his territories. Upon this they are represented to have left Banbasa and to have taken up their residence in their present abodes."[1] But their traditions are very vague; some say that they came from the Dakkhin; others, from Delhi; others, that they were expelled from the Dakkhin by the Marhattas. The Mahra or Dehra Dûn branch say that they came into the District from beyond the Ganges at the invitation of Râja Sukh Dâs Sâh of Tehri, who used them as guides through the jungles on his shooting expeditions. They fix their emigration into the Dûn at some five generations from the present day.

Tribal organisation.

4. The last Census returns give the septs of the Bhuksas, as Jâdubansi, Panwâr, Partuja, Râjbansi, and Tunwar. Sir H. M. Elliot describes them as having fifteen septs (*gotra*), of which twelve are of superior and three of inferior rank. The superior, according to his list, are Bargûjar, Tabâri, Barhaniya, Jalwar, Adhoi, Dugugiya, Râthaur, Negauriya, Jalâl, Upâdhya, Chauhân, Dunwariya. The three inferior are the Dîmar—Râthaur (descended from a Teli woman), Dhangra (from a hill woman), and Goli from a woman of the barber caste. "The names of these tribes indicate considerable mixture with other classes, both Râjput and Brâhman. Bhoksas are prohibited marrying in their own *gotra:* but may select any other *gotra* they choose. Those who reside in Kilpuri and Sabna are said occasionally to intermarry with the Thârus. The Bhâts of the Bhuksas, who are descended from a follower of Udayjît, reside still at Banbasa, and pay occasional visits to their constituents. The priests (*purohit*) of the Bhuksas are Kanaujiya Brâhmans, who are also descended from one of the followers of Udayjît."

The Mahra Bhuksas.

5. The meaning of the word Mahra is not certain. The same title is applied to Kahârs when it means "a confidential person who enters the inner apartments" (Sanskrit *mahilla*, "a woman"). This name is applied only to the Dehra Dûn section, and fresh immigrants are known as Bhoksa. Marriage in a man's *gotra* and in the family of the maternal uncle for two generations is prohibited. They may marry as many wives as they please, but two is usually the limit. If a girl, prior to marriage, is detected in an intrigue with a man of her own tribe, her parents have to pay a fine, which generally amounts to five

[1] Elliot, *Supplemental Glossary*, s.v.

rupees, to the tribal council, and then she is restored and allowed to marry in the tribe; but if her lover be a man of lower caste than herself she is permanently excommunicated. If her lover be a man of higher caste than herself the offence is condoned on payment of a fine of ten rupees. Boys are generally married at the age of twelve. No money is paid by either side. If the marriage be subsequently annulled and the girl marries again, her second husband has to refund the expenses of the first marriage. The only valid grounds for annulling a marriage are infidelity on the part of the wife or the impotence of the husband. If either leave the other for any reason other than the above they will be fined by the council. When a man divorces his wife all he does is to turn her out of his house and inform the council. Widows can marry again by the form known as *karâo*. Children, the fruit of such union, are regarded as legitimate, and inherit on the same footing as the offspring of a regular marriage. It is asserted that the widow may marry the elder as well as the younger brother of her late husband; but this is so much opposed to the usual custom regulating such cases that it must be received with caution. When the widow marries outside the family of her late husband the guardianship of the children of the first marriage passes to her husband's brothers. There is no trace of the fiction by which the children of the second marriage are attributed to the late husband.

6. Of the tribe in the Dûn Mr. Baillie writes[1]:—"The Mahras are the aboriginal inhabitants and occupy all the unhealthy villages in the Eastern Dûn, where no one else can live. These are also Râjputs, and are closely allied to the Bhoksas of the Rohilkhand Tarâi, and Thârus of the Oudh Tarâi. They are clearly all one and the same race. The Mahras have few traditions, except that their ancestors were Râjputs. They present many points of resemblance to the Bhoksas, though neither will acknowledge any connection with the other. They are of settled habits, dwellers in swamps and cultivators of rice, and are proof against malaria. They do not admit outsiders into the caste. They are timid and averse to intercourse with strangers. They generally marry on attaining puberty. They are in their habits and customs Hindus of the ordinary low caste type, and Gaur Brâhmans are employed by them as priests for marriage and funeral ceremonies. Remarriage of the widows is permitted. The widow is not obliged to marry her husband's elder

[1] *Census Report, North-West Provinces*, I., 321.

or younger brother. They eat pork and fowls, and drink spirits like most of the dwellers in the Tarâi swamps. Some of them are hunters, and catch game, and others are good fishermen." The traditions which point to a Râjput origin are, of course, as baseless as those of the Thârus and the allied races.

Mahra Bhoksas—Birth ceremonies.

7. There is no ceremony during pregnancy. The caste supplies midwives to the higher castes; so they attend each other at their confinements. On the sixth day is the worship of Bihâi, who causes children to laugh or cry in their sleep. A ball of cowdung is made and wrapped up in a cloth. The widwife brings this ball to the mother and she worships it. On that day the entire house is plastered, and a dish of curry and rice is made and distributed among the clansmen and friends. The next day the mother gets some Ganges water from a Brâhman, and, mixing it with ordinary water, takes a bath. This is the only purification. After a month the shaving (*mûndan*) is performed, and on this occasion the clansmen are fed. There is no adoption ceremony. When a man marries a widow and has no issue it is very common for him to adopt one of his stepsons.

Mahra Bhoksas—Marriage.

8. The betrothal is done in the usual way. At the marriage a shed (*mânro*) is erected in the courtyard, and beneath it the nine planets are worshipped. After this the sacred fire is lighted, and the pair walk five times round it.

Mahra Bhuksas—Disposal of the dead.

9. The dead are cremated, if possible, at the Ganges, and in any case the ashes are deposited in the sacred river. The corpse is shrouded in a piece of white cloth, five yards long, to which a yard of red cloth is attached. There is no ceremony at the cremation, but thirteen days after they give some grain, cloth, and vessels to a Brâhman, and this purifies them. On every day up to the thirteenth the mourners give a cake to the cow before they eat themselves. Every year, in the month of Kuâr, they feed the relatives of their daughters in order to propitiate the ghosts of the dead—possibly a survival of the matriarchate.

Eastern Bhoksas—Manners and customs.

10. The Eastern section are very closely connected with the Thârus. "Both tribes," says Mr. E. Colvin,[1] "are superstitious, and, as a rule,

[1] *Census Report, N.-W. P.*, 1865, I., *Appendix* 60, *sqq.*

truthful, much given to intoxicating drink and not very chaste; both more or less migratory, only continuing to cultivate the land until it is exhausted, and then moving on to fresh grounds; both utterly reckless with water with which they inundate their fields. They bear a good moral character; are inoffensive and peaceable, as well as intensely ignorant and indolent. They have no arts and manufactures, and live on the chase and a scanty cultivation. They are particularly fond of wild pig, and this may be one of the reasons why they change the site or their villages every two or three years. In some places they collect the wild jungle produce, but in no systematic way. They also engage in gold washing, extracting gold dust to the value of a few hundred rupees a year from the auriferous sands of the Sona Nadi. They are slowly but surely dying out, and now number only a few thousands." Mr. Colvin says that they are less intelligent than the Thârus. "To this day neither the Bhoksas nor the Thârus build even earthen walls for their houses, which are made of posts driven into the ground with beams resting upon them. They employ hill or plainsmen as blacksmiths; all which tends to prove that they never possessed knowledge sufficient to admit of their erecting the buildings or sinking the masonry wells, ruins of which still exist in the Tarâi." Of their villages in Bijnor Dr. Stewart says:—"All are built on the same plan of one straight street, generally of considerable width (in some cases as much as 40 or 50 feet) and kept very clean — in both respects differing remarkably from the villages of the plains. The huts are placed end to end, with intervals after every group of three or four, and the walls are for the most part built of wattle and dab, but sometimes of thatch (*chhappar*), of which latter the roofs are also constructed. The houses are windowless, but each has a door in front and another behind, the latter affording access to the shed for cattle, etc. The doorways and roofs are very low, and the floors of beaten earth are considerably raised above the general level of the grounds. Those Western Bhoksas do not at any time live in houses built on poles, as is stated to be the case with those opposite Kumaun."

Eastern Bhoksas—Religion.

11. This division of the Bhoksas has been so far Hinduised that some of them employ Gaur Brâhmans in their marriage and funeral ceremonies. Some are Sikhs, and the wife follows the religion (*path*) of her husband, and the children that of their father. One of the Tarâi

Parganas is called Nânakmatha, after the great Sikh Guru, and there is a Sikh shrine there as well as at Dehra and Srinagar. But they have their own indigenous medicine men (*padhân*). They pay special devotion to the death goddess known as Bhawâni or Devi, whose functions are the same as those of the Thâru goddess, Kâlika. They have also two local saints, Sarwar Lakhi and Kâlu Sayyid, of whom Dr. Stewart could learn nothing. Sarwar Lakhi is evidently the famous Sakhi Sarwar Sultân, also known as Lakhdâta or the giver of lakhs. His real name was Sayyid Ahmad, and he flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. His principal shrine is at Nagaha, in the Dehra Ghâzi Khân District. He is said to have been a disciple of Bâba Nânak: he is the patron of athletes, and especially of wrestling.[1] Kâlu Sayyid may have some connection with Kâli Sinh, the Panjâb snake godling.[2] But he is more probably identical with the deity known to the Baheliyas as Kâlu Bîr, to the Banjâras as Kâlu Deo, and to the Kahârs, as Kâlu Kahâr. One story is that he was born of a Kahâr girl, who by magical charms compelled King Solomon to marry her, with the result that she bore a son, Kâlu Bâba, who is worshipped extensively by Kahârs, Chamârs, Sainis, Gadariyas, and other low castes in the form of a fetish stick decorated with peacocks' feathers. The last Census shows 266,191 votaries of this godling. Sarwar Lakhi has a shrine at the entrance to the main pass through the Siwâlik hills into the Pâtli Dûn, and all wayfarers, as they pass, of whatever race, tribe, or creed, make offerings to his shrine.

Eastern Bhoksas—Witchcraft.

11. Like many isolated jungle tribes, they have acquired a reputation for sorcery and witchcraft. In fact, Bhogsa or Bhoksa, is the name for a sorcerer in Garhwâl. "Some are even said to be able to assume the form of a wild animal, and thus accomplish the destruction of an enemy. Sudarsan Sâh rid Garhwâ of sorcerers in the following manner,—He called all the Bhogsas together under pretence of needing their assistance in some ceremony, and promised them all sorts of rewards should he succeed, and so induced them to come themselves and bring all their books with them. When all were assembled that had any pretensions to power as sorcerers, he caused

[1] Ibbetson, *Panjâb Ethnography*, 115: C. F. Oldham, *Contemporary Review*, XLVII., 412, *sq.*: *Panjâb Notes and Queries*, II., 181 *sq*:

[2] Ibbetson, *loc. cit.*, 114.

them to be bound hand and foot, and thrown with their books and implements into the river."[1]

Distribution of the Bhoksas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Mahra.	Bhoksa.	Total.
Debra Dûn	599	...	599
Morâdâbâd	8	...	8
Allahâbâd	92	...	92
Tarâi	...	1,208	1,208
Total .	699	1,208	1,907

1. **Bhot, Bot, Bhotiya**[2]—(Sanskrit, *Bhota*).—A tribe originally of Hill origin. In the Panjâb, those who in the Spiti and Lahûl Districts returned themselves as Bot, merely imply that they are Tibetans. The proper name of the tract of Chinese territory, which we call Tibet, is Bodyul, or Bodland, and the people Bodpas, corrupted by the Indians into Bhotiyas—a name now applied to the Tibetans living on the borders between India and Tibet, while the people of Tibet Proper are called Huniyas, and the country Hundes. Boti is the name for the language, and Bot for the people; but they rarely apply it to themselves. "If they did," says Mr. Diack, "it would be like a Panjâbi describing himself as an Asiatic." There they consist of four classes—Jocho, Lonpa, Chhazang, Loban.[3] In these Provinces a tribe of the same name is found in small numbers in the Kumaun Division. There they usually call themselves Raghubansi Râjputs, and trace their origin to Bhutwal in Nepâl. They fix their emigration into Northern Oudh in the reign of Nawâb Asaf-ud-daula (1775—1797). They now present a curious instance of a tribe of non-Aryan origin, who have in a very short time become completely Brâhmanised. Among some of them the rule of exogamy is that they do not marry their sons into families to which, within the memory of man, they have given daughters as brides. But others have adopted the complete Hindu law of exogamy, and the creation of a full set of Brâhmanical *gotras* is probably only a question of time.

[1] Atkinson, *loc. cit.* II., 833.

[2] Chiefly based on notes by Munshi Badri Nâth, Deputy Collector, Kheri, and Munshi Mahadeo Prasâd, Head Master, Zillah School, Pilibhît.

[3] *Panjâb Census Report*, 1891, page 295, *sq.*

2. These are of the usual Hindu type. When the bride's palanquin arrives at the house of her husband the gods are worshipped, and then she is admitted into the house. Some rice, silver, or gold, is put in the hands of the bridegroom, which he passes on to the bride. She places them in a winnowing fan, and makes them over as a present to the wife of the barber. This ceremony is known as *Karja bharna*. A man can have three wives and no more. The wife of the first marriage is the head wife, and she receives by inheritance a share one-tenth in excess of that given to the other wives. Marriage is generally performed under the age of fifteen, but no special age is fixed. No price is paid on either side. Concubinage and the levirate are allowed. There is no form of divorce, and though a man or woman is excommunicated if detected in illicit intercourse, they can be restored to caste on giving a tribal feast.

Marriage ceremonies.

3. The marriage ceremonies are in the standard form. Respectable people marry by the common *charhana* ritual, which begins with the ceremonies at the door of the bride's house (*darwáza chár* or *duár chár*). When they come to the marriage shed (*mánro*), the officiating Brâhman does the usual worship. The bride's younger brother sprinkles parched grain over the pair, and receives from the father of the bride a sheet, which is known as *lái bhujua*, or the remuneration for parching rice. Then the bridegroom rolls a stone over the parched rice on the ground, and this is known as the "line of the stone" (*patthar kí lakír*), which is the binding part of the ceremony. Then follows the tying of the clothes (*ganth bandhan*), and the circumambulation of the fire (*bhanwari*). Next comes the *pása sár*, where the bride and bridegroom exchange jewels—a survival of the gambling custom which appears in the standard ritual. Then follows the feeding of the bridegroom (*bási khilána*), and the usual feast to the clansmen. After the marriage is over, on an auspicious day, the grass used as thatch for the wedding shed and other things are thrown into a river or tank by the women. This is called *maur serwána*, "the setting afloat of the marriage crown." The lower kind of marriage is called *pair pújna*, in which all the ceremonies are done at the house of the husband. The last form, *dharaua*, is simple concubinage. Persons who have not been married till they are of advanced years very often keep a woman in this way.

Marriage ceremonies.

Disposal of the dead.

4. Those who die of cholera or snake-bite, and young children, are buried; others are cremated. There is no fixed burial-ground, and no ceremonies are performed at the time of burial. Richer people keep the ashes for removal to some sacred stream; others bury them. After the cremation a stalk of *kusa* grass is fixed in the ground near a tank, and water and sesamum is poured upon it for ten days so as to convert it into a refuge for the spirit until the rites are completed.

Religion.

5. They employ Brâhmans as priests. Their chief object of worship is Devi, to whom goats are sacrificed. Young pigs are also occasionally offered to her.

The worshippers make the sacrifice and consume the meat themselves. They observe the usual festivals. On the Barsâti Amâwas, on the fifteenth of Jeth, women worship a banyan tree by walking round it and tying a thread round the trunk. This they do to increase the life of their husbands. Women fast on the Tîja, or third day of Bhâdon. At the Godiya, on the fifth of Kârttik, they worship the dragon, Nâg Deota, and girls offer dolls to Devi and Mahâdeva. The care of malignant spirits is the business of the exorcisor (*nâwat*). Women reverence the *bargad* or banyan tree, because its name (*bargad*) is supposed to be connected with their husbands (*bar*).

Social customs.

6. They do not eat the turnip (*shalgham*). They will not touch a Dhobi, Bhangi, Chamâr, or Kori. They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, hare, deer, water-birds, and fish; they will not eat the monkey, cow, pig, fowl, crocodile, snake, lizard, rat, or other vermin. Intoxicating liquors are forbidden; *bhang* and *gânja* are used, but excess is reprobated.

Occupation.

7. Their occupation is agriculture; they do not hold land as zamîndârs but as tenants, and some work as field labourers. They practice no handicraft.

Distribution of the Bhotiyas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Muzaffarnagar . .	1	Garhwâl . . .	174
Gorakhpur . . .	6	Tarâi . . .	6
Kumaun . . .	7,270	Total .	7,457

Bhuînhâr—(Sanskrit *Bhûmi*, "land," *kâra*, "mâker").—An important tribe of landowners and agriculturists in the Eastern Districts. They are also known as Bâbhan, Zamîndâr Brâhman, Grihasth Brâhman, or Pachhima, or "Western" Brâhmans. They must, of course, be very carefully distinguished from the Dravidian Bhuînhâr or Bhuiyâr tribe, of whom some account has been given in a separate article.

Origin of tribe.

2. One story of their origin is that when Parasurâma destroyed the Kshatriya race, he set up in their place the descendants of Brâhmans, who, after a time, having abandoned their priestly functions, took to land-owning. Another story tells that a King of Ajudhya being childless, sought to obtain an heir by the sacrifice of a Brâhman, and purchased the son of the Rishi Jamadagni for that purpose. The uncle of the child, the sage Viswamitra, procured a child for the Râja, and the sacrifice was rendered unnecessary; but the Brâhman boy having been sold was considered degraded, and was forced to take to agriculture, and became the ancestor of the Bhuînhârs. This, as Mr. Risley says, is the famous legend of Sunahsephas in another form.[1] "A third legend, perhaps the best known of all, traces the Bâbhans back to a sacrifice offered by Jarasandha, King of Magadha, at which a very large number of Brâhmans, some say a lakh and-a-quarter, were required to be present. Jarasandha's Dîwân, a Kâyasth of the Amisht or Karan sub-caste, did his best to meet the demand, but was driven to eke out the local supply by distributing sacred threads among members of the lower castes, and palming them off on the King as genuine Brâhmans. Jarasandha's suspicions being roused by the odd appearance of some of the guests, the Dîwân was compelled to guarantee their respectability by eating the food which they had cooked, while the Brâhmans thus manufactured had to set up a caste of their own, the name of which (Bâbhan or Bâhman) is popularly supposed to mean a sham Brâhman, just as in some districts an inferior Râjput is called a Râwat, the corruption of the name betokening the corruption of the caste."[2]

3. It has been suggested[3] that the legend that they were Brâh-

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[1] *Tribes and Castes*, I., 28.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Calcutta Review*, LXXVI., 82.

mans degraded at the feast of Jarasandha points to the fact that after the downfall of Buddhism, the Bâbhans were those Brâhmans (with whom there was possibly some admixture of Râjputs) who were either converted to the Buddhistic faith or chose to live under the Buddhistic system with a changed status. Of this, however, there is no evidence.

4. On their relations to Brâhmans and Râjputs a competent observer, Mr. J. R. Reid, writes[1] :—"Their Brâhman and Chhatri neighbours generally insinuate that they are of mixed breed, the offspring of Brâhman men and Chhatri women, or of Chhatri men and Brâhman women. By other castes they are regarded as a kind of Chhatri, and are spoken of, and indeed often speak of themselves, as Bhuînhâr Thâkurs. Their clans (*gotra*) are the same as those of the Brâhmans, and, like the latter, the Bhuînhârs wear a thread (*janéu*) ninety-six hands breadth (*chaua*) in length, the Chhatri's thread being eighty only. They do not perform priestly offices, nor receive offerings given from a religious motive (*dân, dakshina*); but they are saluted with the *pranâm*, or *pâélagi*, and return the salutation with a blessing (*asîrbâd*). Physically they are of the same type as the Brâhman or Chhatri. In character they resemble the former more than the latter; and the following proverbs are in vogue :—

Nadi kai bhânwak,
Bhuînhâr kai ghânwak.
Sabse chatur Banya, tese chatur Sunâr ;
Lasé lûse lâike tehi thâgé Bhuînhâr.

"The Bhuînhâr is as uncertain as the current of the rivulet. Cutest of all is the Banya; cuter than him is the goldsmith; but the Bhuinhâr with his wiles tricks them both."

"Brâhmans do not eat with them, nor do Râjputs. Possibly the existence of the Bhuînhâr class is also evidence of the time when the bonds of caste, as we know them, had not been forged, or, if forged, were not worn by those who pushed forward into new settlements beyond the old. It has been pointed out that to the non-Aryan inhabitants of the country all Aryans were of one caste,—all Brâhmans. Within the Aryan body the exchange of priestly for military employment was not impossible, and did not involve degradation. It is un-

[1] *Azamgarh Settlement Report*, 27, *sq.*

necessary, therefore, to believe that all Bhuînhârs are Brâhmans of inferior, because illegitimate stock. They may be as true born as the Brâhmans or Chhatris who surround them, and many of whom they possible preceded in the occupation of the land. Further, it seems probable that many so called Kshatriya tribes are Brâhmans who have fallen from their former status."

5. Dr. Oldham,[1] speaking of the Ghâzipur branch of the tribe, says that in popular estimation they share something of the sacredness which attaches to Brâhmans. Their divisions are very often the same as those of well-known Râjput tribes, such as the Kinwâr, Gautam, and Kausik Bhuînhârs; and the corresponding Râjput tribe sometimes names the same city or country as the first home of the race. In one case "a Bhuînhâr and Râjput tribe both claim descent from a common ancestor, and each admits that the pretensions of the other are well founded. The Bhuînhâr tribes all intermarry on terms of equality and eat together; on the other hand Râjputs marry their daughters into what they consider superior, and their sons into inferior tribes, and are very chary of eating together. There is consequently a much closer bond of sympathy between the various Bhuînhâr tribes of the district than between the Râjputs."

6. Sir H. M. Elliot[2] thinks that "we perhaps have some indication of the true origin of the Bhuînhârs in the names Garga Bhûmi and Vasta Bhûmi, who are mentioned in the Harivansa as Kshatriya Brâhmans, descendants of Kasya princes. Their name of Bhûmi and residence at Kâshi are much in favour of this view; moreover, there are to this day Garga and Vatsa *gotras* among the Sarwariya Brâhmans."

7. The theory that they are a mixed race, derived from a congeries of low caste people accidentally brought together, is disproved by the high and uniform type of physiognomy and personal appearance which prevails among them. This, as Mr. Risley says, would not be the case "if they were descended from a crowd of low caste men promoted by the exigencies of a particular occasion, for brevet rank thus acquired would, in no case, carry with it the right of intermarriage with pure Brâhmans or Râjputs, and the artificially formed group, being compelled to marry within its own limits, would necessarily perpetuate the low caste type of features and complexion. As a matter-of-fact, this is what happens

[1] *Ghâzipur Memo.* I., 43.
[2] *Supplementary Glossary, s. v.*

with the sham Râjputs whom we find in most of the outlying Districts of Bengal. They marry among themselves, never among the true Râjputs, and their features reproduce those of the particular aboriginal tribe from which they may happen to be sprung."

8. The next supposition is that they may be Brâhmans who for some cause (in this case it is said to have been because they took to agriculture) have been degraded. There are, of course, many so-called Brâhmans, like the Mahâbrâhman, Ojha, or Dakaut, who are of a degraded type; but many of these are almost certainly derived from the lower races, and have little or no Aryan blood in their veins. Further, many true Brâhmans hold land and cultivate, and are not necessarily degraded by so doing.

9. Further, Mr. Risley seems to be certainly right in dwelling on the fact that while they have sections both of the territorial and eponymous class, the former regulate the exogamy of the tribe, and not the latter. Many lower castes have adopted Brâhmanical *gotras*; but it is unreasonable to suppose that if the Bhuînhârs were originally Brâhmans, and as such necessarily provided with a set of real Brâhmanical *gotras*, they would deliberately have discarded them and adopted a tribal organization of the territorial type. On this ground he regards them as more probably a branch of the Râjputs.

10. The question then of the origin of the Bhuînhârs is not capable of exact determination. Their traditions, customs, and appearance point all to a Brâhmanical origin; their tribal organization seems to show that they are not, as is asserted by some, Brâhmans, who for a reason obviously inadequate, have been degraded from their original position. They may be a real branch of the Aryan stock, who in very remote ages colonised the part of the country which they occupy at present, and being reduced by the exigencies of their position to abrogate their sacerdotal functions, took to a life of war and agriculture, and in consequence of this organized their tribe in a manner analogous to those of the early Kshatriya settlers.

Tribal organisation.

11. As has been already said, the tribal divisions of the Bhuînhârs are organised on both the territorial and eponymous systems. Of the former the chief sub-divisions in the eastern part of these Provinces are the Kinwâr, Donwâr, Sakarwâr, Baghochhiya, Bemuwâr, Karenawa, Kotraha, Karmâi, Kolhaniyân, Athariya, Jaithariya,

Chaudhari, Kotaha, Sobraniyân, Belhariya, Domkatâr, Baksariya, Eksariya, Gautamiya, Titiha, Bhaiwadh, Kolaha, Sorhaniya, Biruâr, Surohan, Birramiya, Kahatwâr, Mirzapuri, Raikwâr and Parasiya. Besides these are a number of sub-divisions of the Brâhmanical type, such as Dikshit, Garga, Gautam, Sândilya, Pânrê, Dûbê, Tiwâri, Upâdhya, Pâthak, Shukl, Kapilgotri, Kausik, Bhâradwâja, and Payâsi Misr. They further enumerate eighty-four of the regular Brâhmanical *gotras*, such as Kasyapa, Vasishtha, Pârâsara, Bhârgava, Vatsya, Katyâyana, Gargya, Gobhila, Angiras, and so on. But in carrying out the rules of exogamy the *mûl* or territorial section is alone taken account of, and not the Brâhmanical *gotra*. With this exception the prohibited degrees follow the standard Brâhmanical formula. Some of these sections are possibly to temistic, suchas the Baghochhiya or "tiger" (*bâgh*); Domkatâr, "Dom's knife," Belhariya, from the *bel* tree; and these sections carry with them some degree of inferiority, which results in a form of hypergamy. The Census returns give no less than four hundred and fifty-eight Bhuînhâr sections: but here the territorial sections and the Brâhmanical *gotras* are mixed up together. The most important local sections according to these returns are the Chaudhari, Gautam, and Kolaha, in Benares: the Gautam in Mirzapur: the Bhâradwâja, Bhrigubansi, Dichhit, Donwâr, Gautam, Kausik, Kinwâr, Kistwâr, Sakarwâr, Sonwâr, in Ghâzipur: the Asuriya, Bhagata, Domkatâr, Kinwâr, Manchaura, Nanauliya, and Bemwâr, of Ballia: the Baghochhiya, Baksariya, Gautam, Kausik, and Sakarwâr, of Gorakhpur: the Barasi, Birhariya, and Kausik, of Basti: and the Barwâr Bhâradwâja, Bhrigubans, Denwâr, Gargbans, Gautam, Purwâr, Sakarwâr, and Sândil, of Azamgarh.

Domestic ceremonies.

12. The Bhuînhârs of this part of the country follow in every respect the standard Brâhmanical rules.

Religion.

13. Bhuînhârs are usually Saivas or Sâktas, and worship the *deohâr* or community of village godlings and local demons or ghosts, such as Goraiya, Hardiya, Bandi Mâi, and the like.

Territorial sub-divisions.

14. Some account may be given of the chief territorial subdivisions.[1]

[1] Oldham, *ibid*, I., 68, *sqq*.

15. The Kinwâr Bhuînhârs claim an origin from Padampur, in the Carnâtic, like the Kinwâr Râjputs. They have in Ghâzipur three sub-sections—Rajdhar, Makund, and Pithaur Râê.

The Kinwâr.

16. The Bemwâr Bhuînhârs say they came from Bempur and settled in Narwan in Benares. They are respectable, well-to-do people.

Bemwâr.

17. The Sakarwâr Bhuînhârs are closely connected with the Râjput sept of the same name, and like them their legends connect them and their name with Fatehpur-Sikri. In Ghâzipur they are generally rich, and have retained the greater part of their ancestral property.

The Sakarwâr.

18. The Donwâr sub-division say that their original home was near Fatehpur-Sikri. When they settled in Azamgarh they were known as Bhath. They derive their name from their parent village Donauli, which took its name from Dona Achârya, a Pânrê Brâhman. Dr. Oldham says that they are frugal and industrious. The ancestor of the Donwârs of two or three villages was in the military service of one of the Delhi Emperors, and received from him for his valour the title of Khân, which is borne to the present day by all his descendants.

The Donwâr.

19. Of the Gautam Bhuînhârs one tradition runs that about the year 304 Hijri (882 A. D.) a Brâhman of the Gautam *gotra*, named Khattu Misra, came to Benares. Every day after he had bathed he used to pour some water at the root of a *madâr* tree (*Asclepias gigantea*) in which lived a Râkshasa. One day he had forgot to make the accustomed offering, and the Râkshasa appeared and implored him to relieve his thirst. He complied with the request, and the Râkshasa offered him any boon he chose. Khattu replied that he was much inconvenienced by having to dry his wet loin cloth over his shoulders whenever he went to bathe. So the demon gave him the power of throwing the cloth into the air, where it was miraculously suspended until it dried. The Râkshasa then introduced him to Vyâsa, who was living in Benares, and the fame of his miracles rapidly brought him reputation and wealth. So he built a tank at Benares, which is still known as *Misra ka pokhara*, and planted trees on its bank. Benares was then ruled by Râja Banâr; and one day an elephant belonging to the Râja injured one of the trees of Khattu Misra, whereat he was wroth, and the

The Gautam.

Râja was forced to take the worthy into his favour. One day the Râja gave Khattu a packet of betel on which he had written a deed-of-gift of twenty-eight villages. Khattu unwittingly swallowed the betel, and being considered to have thus lost status by accepting a gift, he henceforth lost the power of drying his loin cloth in the air. This estate was the present Gangapur, which belongs to his descendant, the present Maharâja of Benares, who belongs to the Bipra branch of the Gautam *gotra*, with the title of Misra. According to Mr Sherring[1] it is "of the Kauthumiya *sâkha*, or branch of Brâhmans following the ritual of the Sâma Veda. It has three Pravaras, distinguished by the number of knots in the Brâhmanical cord—the Gautam, Angiras, and Anthatiya. The clan intermarries with the Bhuînhârs of the Madhyandina *sâkha* of Brâhmans, observing the ritual of the Yajur Veda. It is traditionally allied to the Sarwariya Brâhmans of Madhubani beyond the Ghâgra."

Occupation and social status.

20. The Bhuînhârs of these Provinces claim to observe a high standard of personal purity and carry out all the rules of the Brâhmanical ritual. They are in the villages at least quarrelsome and litigious; but they are, on the whole, a fine body of sturdy yeomen, and turn out excellent crops, though they will not plough with their own hands. To agriculture they very generally add dealing in grain and money-lending.

Distribution of the Bhuînhârs according to the Census of 1891.[2]

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Bulandshahr . .	1	Basti	12,744
Benares . . .	21,272	Azamgarh . . .	61,425
Mirzapur . . .	9,385	Lucknow . . .	86
Jaunpur . . .	4,292	Faizabâd . . .	124
Ghâzipur . . .	54,606	Gonda	1
Ballia . . .	25,777	Partabgarh . . .	112
Gorakhpur . . .	31,202	Total	221,027

[1] *Hindu Tribes*, I., 41, *sq.*

[2] These probably include a few of the Dravidian Bhuînhârs who were not separately tabulated.

Bhuiya.—A Dravidian tribe found in the hill country of South Mirzapur[1] to the number of 839.

Legend of origin.

2. Their legend in Mirzapur runs that two ancient sages, Moma Rishi and Kumbha Rishi, had each a son known respectively as Bhad or Bhadra and Mahesh. Bhad practised austerities in the forests of Magadha or Bihâr, and his cousin Mahesh attended on him. Bhad once sat between two *nîm* (*melia azadirachta*) trees, and when he felt hungry ate the bark. The Bhuiyas hence know him as the Nîm Rishi. Mahesh went into the forest every morning to collect roots and fruits. Half he used to eat himself, and half he kept for his cousin. When Bhad had spent twelve years in these austerities, the Lord tempted him by sending to him one of the nymphs of heaven. She used to make some *halwa* out of flour, butter and sugar and stick it on the bark of the tree beneath which Bhad sat. Bhad knowing nothing of this used to eat it with the bark which formed his daily food. Finally his eyes were opened and he saw the lady. He fell in love with her and took her to wife, and had seven sons, from whom are descended the Magahiya, Tirvak, Dandwâr, Dhelwâr, Musahar, and Bhuînhâr or Bhuiyâr septs. From their descent from the Rishi the Bhuiyas often call themselves Rishâsan Bhuiyas. The fruits and roots which Mahesh collected he sowed in the Mirzapur jungles, and since then they have begun to grow there. This legend is very different from that recorded by Colonel Tickell, which would make the Bhuiyas descended from shell fish, and of kindred origin to Kols, Santâls, and Ghasiyas.[2] The Mirzapur legend asserts their kinship with the Musahar and Bhuînhâr, who claim to be distinct tribes, and disclaim any connection with the Bhuiyas.

Mr. Risley, remarking on the wide area over which the name Bhuiya has spread, thinks we should "hesitate and demand some independent evidence of affinity before we pronounce it to be an original tribal designation, and accept the conclusion that all tribes which bear the name at the present day are sprung from a common stock." He adds that "the advanced guard of the Aryan immigrants, pressing forward in quest of land, and seeking a name for the alien races whom they found in possession of scanty clearings

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[1] For an account of the branch of the tribe who have lately become notorious in Bengal, see Hunter, *Orissa*, II., 144.

[2] Dalton, *Ethnology*, 185.

in the forest-clad tract of Central India, whither they had themselves been driven, would naturally ignore the tribal names of the groups with which they came in contact, and would call the strangers Bhuiyas or children of the soil"[1] (*bhúmi*).

Physical characteristics.

3. Colonel Dalton describes the Bhuiyas of Gangpur and Bonai as "a dark brown, well proportioned race, with black, straight hair plentiful on the head but scant on the face; of middle height, figures well knit, and capable of enduring great fatigue, but light framed like the Hindu, rather than presenting the usual muscular developement of the hillman. The features are very much of the same cast throughout. The cheek and jaw-bones are projecting, so as to give a breadth and squareness to the face. The nose is but slightly elevated, still neither so depressed nor so broad at the root as the generality of Turanian noses, and rather of a retroussé type: mouth and teeth well formed, and the facial angle generally good. The eyes well shaped and straight, but never very large or deep set."[2] On the other hand he describes the Keonjhar Hill Bhuiyas "as rather of an exaggerated Turanian type: very large mouths, thick and somewhat projecting lips, foreheads narrow and low, but not receding; eyes dark but well shaped, hair plentiful on the head, though rather frizzly and generally scanty on the face; but to this there are notable exceptions. Short of stature, averaging about five feet two inches, round shouldered, and many of them with a lump that is produced by the displacement of the muscles in carrying loads bhangy fashion. The colour of the skin varies from a deep chocolate, the predominating tint, to tawny."[3] This last description seems to answer more closely than the former to the tribe as found in Mirzapur. They are distinguished with very great difficulty from the Bhuiyâr, with whom they are doubtless very closely connected, but are much less robust and active than the Korwas or Parahiyas.

Internal structure.

4. The Mirzapur Bhuiyas have not the intricate and confusing internal structure characteristic of the Bengal tribe. They describe themselves as divided into eight septs—Tirvâh, Magahiya, Dandwâr, Mahatwâr, Mahthek, Musahar, and Bhuînhâr or Bhuiyâr. Of these the Dandwâr,

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[1] *Tribes and Castes*, I., 109, *sq*.
[2] *Descriptive Ethnology*, 140.
[3] *Ibid*, 147; also see Ball, *Jungle Life*, 267.

Magahiya, Mahatwâr, Tirvâh, appear in the Bengal lists from Lohardaga and the Musahar in Manbhûm.[1] Some of these subdivisions are totemistic, some local, and some occupational. Thus the Tirvâh say they take their name from the fact that their original ancestor was thrown when a baby into a river. One of the Dandwâr sept rescued and brought him to the bank (*tîr*). Another version of the story is that the ancestor of the sept was born on the river bank, fell in accidentally, and was rescued by a Dandwâr. The Magahiya is a local sept derived from Magadha or Bihâr, their place of origin. The Dandwâr, again, is apparently an occupational sept. They take their name from *dand*, athletic exercises, in which like Nats they are said to be proficient. The Mahatwâr derive their name from the fact that they were formerly leaders (*mahto*) of the tribe. The Musahar are so called because they eat mice and rats (*mûs*). They say that they were originally natives of Magadha or Bihâr, and emigrated into Mirzapur only some three or four generations ago. They have now no connection with their original seat in the way of marriages, pilgrimages, or deriving their priests, barbers, or tribal officers from there. The septs of the Tirvâh, Dandwâr, and Mahatwar intermarry, and the Magahiya, Mahthek, Bhuiyâr or Bhuînhâr, and Musâhar intermarry. But these rules appear to be in a very uncertain state, because there seems no doubt that they also marry within their own sept, but not with a family with whom an alliance has been contracted within two or three generations, which is as far as memory runs. The internal structure of the tribe is, in fact, in a state of transition. The Musahar and Bhuînhâr or Bhuiyâr septs have practically completely separated, and this process will doubtless continue until still more endogamous groups are formed.

Tribal council.

5. They have a tribal council which is known as Bhayyâri, or "the assemblage of the brethren." The meetings for tribal business take place when the members collect for marriages or funerals. They have a permanent hereditary president called Mahto. The principal cases which come before the council are charges of not feeding the brotherhood at marriages and deaths, eating or drinking with outsiders, and fornication or adultery. The usual punishment when an offence is proved is that the offender is condemned to feed the brotherhood for

[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., *Appendix* II.

one or two days on goat's flesh, rice, and liquor. If the hereditary president happens to be a minor, his duties are undertaken, till he grows up, by some other person appointed by the council.

Marriage.

6. Marriages are strictly local, and, as a rule, a Bhuiya never goes to a distance to find a wife for his son. Difference of occupation, provided other conditions are fulfilled, is not a bar to marriage. All the sub-divisions are equal as far as marriage is concerned, and the custom of hypergamy is unknown. They may have as many wives as they can buy and support. There is no rule of precedence among the wives, and all, if possible, live in different rooms in the same house. Concubinage is not permitted. Women are allowed considerable freedom both before and after marriage. If an unmarried girl is detected in an intrigue with a man of her own caste her father has to give a feast to the brethren, and the girl is married to her lover. But apparently nothing short of actual detection in the act or the pregnancy of the girl is sufficient to compel the council to take action against her. If she is detected in an intrigue with a person not of her own caste she is permanently expelled. The usual marriage age for both boys and girls is twelve. The consent of the parents is essential, except in the case of pre-nuptial immorality, and by this means couples very often make up their own matches. The permanent bride-price prescribed for the whole tribe, whether rich or poor, is five rupees in cash, a cloth for the bride, four *sers* of rice, two *sers* of sugar, and one *ser* of turmeric. If after marriage either bride or bridegroom becomes idiotical, mad, leprous, impotent, or mutilated, the marriage is annulled. But this is conditional on the other party being ignorant before the marriage was carried out of such a defect.

Divorce.

7. Habitual infidelity on the part of either husband or wife is a ground for divorce, but the fact must be proved to the satisfaction of the tribal council, which scrutinizes the evidence very closely. Divorced women can remarry, but the feeling is against it, and only widowers or men who cannot afford the recognised bride-price for a virgin will take such women.

Widow marriage and the levirate.

8. Widows are remarried in the *sagâi* form. When a man marries a widow he has to repay the bride-price to the relations of her late husband. There is no ceremony. All the man does is to give the woman a sheet (*sâri*), and then takes her home, where he has to give a feast to the brethren. The levirate is

strictly enforced. It is only when the younger brother of her late husband abandons his claim on the widow that she can marry an outsider. The elder brother can, under no circumstances, marry the widow of his younger brother. If she marries an outsider her brother-in-law has a right to the custody of all her children by the first marriage. If she marries an outsider she loses all right to the goods of her first husband. Her sons by her first husband are his heirs. In the case of the levirate the levir takes over the goods and children of his late brother: if, when they come of age, they wish to separate, they are considered entitled to an equal share in the joint property with their step brothers. There is no fiction that the children of the levir are affiliated to his late brother.

Adoption.

9. They assert that a sonless man can adopt and pretend to have some elaborate rules on the subject which are in imitation of their Hindu neighbours. At any rate it is clear that there is no religious motive for adoption, and if a man does adopt an heir it is one of his brother's sons. A man may not adopt his sister's son, but he may adopt his daughter's son. A bachelor, a blind, impotent, or lame man may adopt, but not an ascetic. The rule that the person adopted should be unmarried is not enforced. Girls are never adopted.

Succession.

10. The rules of succession do not differ from those of the cognate Dravidian tribes. Genealogies are not carefully kept. They remember generally the names of four or five ancestors both in the male and female line.

Birth ceremonies.

11. There is no ceremony at pregnancy. The Chamâin midwife officiates. She cuts the cord (*nâr*) and buries it in the exact place where the child was born, and lights a fire there. On the day of her confinement the mother gets a decoction of flour, ginger, coarse sugar, and turmeric, mixed up and boiled in water. She then gets nothing to eat for three days, when she is fed on rice and pulse. She remains secluded in the delivery room (*saur*) for six days, during which time the Chamâin attends. On the sixth day is the *chhathi* ceremony. All the men and women of the family have their dirty clothes washed by the Dhobi. The men have their heads shaved, the women get the barber's wife to cut their finger and toe nails, and dye their feet with lac dye (*mahâwar*). The house is replastered, and the old earthen vessels replaced. The Chamâin bathes mother and infant. The delivery room is first plastered by the Chamâin and then by

the sister of the child's father (*nanad*), for which she gets a present in money, clothes or cattle. If a son is born the Chamâin receive four annas and her food, and two annas for a daughter. The washerman and the barber's wife get the same. The husband does not cohabit with his wife for two and-a-half months after her delivery.

Adoption ceremony.

12. Adoption is made in presence of the brethren, who are entertained. He acknowledges the boy as his son, and the boy acknowledges him as his father. If this is not done the adoption is not recognised.

Puberty ceremony.

13. There is no special ceremony when boys or girls attain puberty, but at the age of five or six their ears are bored (*kanchhedana*). The boring is done by a goldsmith who gets one pice and a ration of uncooked grain (*sîdha*). No tribal feast is given, but the members of the household wear their best clothes and eat specially good food that day. Up to that time it does not matter what the child eats, but after the ear-boring he must conform to the rules of the caste.

Marriage ceremonies. The betrothal.

14. The selection of the bride is the business of the boy's father. When he has made his choice he comes home and sends his brother-in-law, the tribal president (Mahto), and four or five other male friends to the father of the girl. If the proposal is accepted, the envoys are entertained for the night. Next morning the bride's father summons his clansmen. A square is made with flour in the court-yard. Her father brings out the bride, who is made to stand in the square, and her father then calls on the friends of the bridegroom and the Mahto to examine her carefully and satisfy themselves that she has no physical defect. When they are satisfied the Mahto or brother-in-law of the bridegroom's father fills the bride's hand with dry rice and sprinkles some grains (*achhat*) over her for good luck. The bride then retires. Next the boy's father sends for four annas worth of liquor, and the girl's father for two annas worth. This is mixed, and the two fathers sit down with leaf platters (*dauna*) in their hands. These they exchange five times and drink the liquor.[1] The bride-price is then paid over to the girl's father, and the betrothal is considered complete.

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[1] This is something like the custom of the Hos ; but among them it is the bride and bridegroom who pledge each other. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 193.

15. After the betrothal the wedding day is fixed by the father of the bridegroom. Notice is sent through his brother-in-law to the bride's father. Three days before the wedding the *matmangara* or "lucky earth" ceremony is performed in both families. The women of the village go in procession to the village clay-pit. At the head of them goes a Chamâr playing on his drum. This drum is first worshipped by the women, and a mark (*tîka*) made on it with red lead. The village Baiga then digs three spadesfull of earth, which the mother of the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, takes in her loin cloth, she standing behind him with her face veiled in her sheet, while he passes the earth to her over his left shoulder. This earth is placed in the marriage shed (*mânro*) which is erected in the courtyard of the house, and on it is placed an earthen jar (*kalsa*) full of water, into which some mango leaves and rice stalks are thrown. Next comes the anointing (*tel hardi*) of the pair, which is done at their respective houses by five women of the family (the number five is selected as it is lucky) who rub them with oil and turmeric. A day before the wedding day the brethren are entertained at a feast (*Bhatwân*). They are also fed on the morning when the procession starts. Before the procession starts the mother of the bridegroom seats herself on the rice mortar (*okhari*). The bridegroom walks towards her and turns back four times. The fifth time he comes close to her, when she seizes him by the handkerchief which he wears over his shoulders, and will not let him go until he promises a present. Next comes the *imlighotna* or "mixing of the tamarind." The bridegroom's mother sits on the ground with him in her lap. Her brother gives him a sip of tamarind mixed with sugar and water. He spits it out on the palm of his mother, who licks it up, and receives a present for doing so from her brother. Then comes the *parachhan* ceremony as described among Majhwârs (para. 16). The bridegroom then starts in procession for the bride's house accompanied by his relatives and clansmen.

The preliminary marriage ceremonies.

16. At the bride's house a marriage shed (*mânro*) has been erected. The posts, nine in number, are formed of the wood of the *siddh* tree (*Hardwickia binata*), and roofed with bamboos. The first post is erected by the village Baiga, and the work finished by the male relations of the bride. Mango leaves are hung on the pillars. At the same time a post of *siddh* wood is planted in the ground at the door of the cook-house

Ceremonies at the house of the bride.

and covered with a cloth. This post is decorated with red lead and turmeric, and is known as "the auspicious one" (*Kalyáni*). When the procession approaches the bride's house, her relatives and friends go in a body (*paghar*) to receive the bridegroom. The bridegroom is led in and seated in the square (*chauk*) in the court-yards opposite his father-in-law, who makes a mark (*tíka*) of rice and curd on his forehead. The bridegroom then with his friends retires to the place arranged for them under a shady tree near the village. This is the *janwánsa*. The relatives of the bride follow them there and wash their feet. After this the bridegroom's father sends the bride a piece of stamped cloth (*chunari*), which she wears at the wedding. Her father then invites the bridegroom to his house, where he enters, and, seizing the bride roughly by the hand (an obvious survival of marriage by capture[1]) brings her out into the marriage shed, and seats her on his left near a branch of the *siddh* tree, which is fixed in the ground in the centre of the shed. He then goes through the form of marrying himself to the tree by marking it with red lead, and after this rubs red lead on the parting of the bride's hair. This done, the bride's father, or in some instances a Brâhman, who gets a fee of one rupee, ties the garments of the pair in a knot and they walk round the *siddh* branch five times. Each time as they go round when they approach the water jar (*kalsa*[2]) the bride's brother pours a little rice into the bride's bosom. The bridegroom then with his party retires. Next morning is the ceremony of eating *khichari* or boiled rice and pulse. The bridegroom goes to the bride's house accompanied by five unmarried boys of the same sept as himself. It is the etiquette that he refuses to eat until he gets a present. After this the clansmen on both sides are entertained.

Ceremonies on the return of the bride.

17. That same day the bridegroom brings his bride home in procession. When they reach his house two baskets are placed on the ground near the door, and they both step in these as they enter. That day the relatives and clansmen are entertained; and next morning disperse. A week after, the water jars (*kalsa*) which have been brought in the return procession are taken by the bride and bridegroom to an abjoining stream. The bridegroom first, not

[1] Among the Bhuiyas of Bengal "the bridegroom acknowledges his wife and threatens any one who attempts to take her from him." Dalton, *Ethnology*, 148.

[2] On the sacredness of the *kalsa*, see Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, 9.

letting the bride see him, plunges his jar into the stream. She searches for it and fishes it out, and the bride plunges her jar in, which the bridegroom recovers. Both bathe and return to the house bearing the jars full of water, doing worship as they pass it to the shrine of the village gods (*deohár*). When the bride brings her jar into the house she pours the contents of her jar over her mother-in-law and asks if she is satisfied with the match. The old woman gives her some trifling present.

Binding portion of marriage ceremony.

18. The binding portion of the ceremony is the rubbing of red lead on the parting of the bride's hair by the bridegroom. If a betrothal is annulled the bride-price is returned: but after the marking with red lead the marriage is final until the parties are regularly divorced.

Varieties of marriage.

19. The forms thus described are known as the *charhauwa* or "offering" for virgin brides and *sagái* for widows. Another recognised form is known as *gurâwat*, in which two men exchange their sisters in marriage.[1]

Disposal of the dead.

20. No one is allowed to die in the house. The bodies of the dead are carried on a bier to a neighbouring stream, where they are placed on a pyre, the head north and the feet south. The nearest relative of the dead person walks five times round the pyre, and first scorching the mouth of the corpse with a grass torch sets light to the pyre. Leaving it burning, the man who fired the pyre with his friends goes and bathes. When they return to the house they sit in the courtyard, and one man with a wisp of grass sprinkles water on their feet out of an earthen pot. Then they sit in silence for an hour round the chief mourner, and as they go away wash their hands in a mixture of sugar and water. The next morning the chief mourner collects the bones and ashes and consigns them to a neighbouring stream. From that time until the tenth day he keeps aloof from every one, cooks for himself, and does not sleep on a bed. He eats only once a day. Each time before he eats he lays out food for the spirit of the dead along the road by which the corpse was carried to cremation.[2] On the tenth day the clansmen

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[1] This Westermarck calls the "simplest way of purchasing a wife." *History of Human Marriage*, 390.

[2] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II., 30.

assemble at a tank and shave their heads. Thence they go to the house of the deceased, where a goat is sacrificed in the name of the deceased, some liquor is poured on the ground, and the meat is boiled with rice and eaten. They have no *srâddha* ceremony, and no Brâhman or Mahâbrâhman officiates at the funeral ceremony, nor are any spells (*mantra*) or verses recited.

Religion.

21. The Bhuiyas call themselves Hindus, and, indeed, have advanced considerably in the direction of Hinduism, as compared with their brethren in Bengal, whose beliefs are almost altogether of the animistic or fetishistic type.[1] Their chief deity is the Hindu Kâli, who has doubtless succeeded some aboriginal goddess, such as the Pauri or Pahâri Devi of the Bhuiyas in Singhbhûm.[2] Kâli and Paramesar are worshipped in Aghan with an offering of sweet cakes and a burnt sacrifice (*hom*). Kâli's shrine consists of a rude thatched hut, outside the village, with a flag in each of the four corners. A round mound of earth on a raised platform in the centre of the shrine represents the divinity. They worship through the Baiga the village gods (*dih*) and the earth goddess Dharti Mâta in association in the month of Chait. In fact a Bhuiya usually describes his faith, as the worship of Dih Dharti.[3] Goats, young pigs, and fowls, are offered to these deities. The Baiga receives as his perquisite the head of the victim, and the worshippers consume the rest of the flesh. Women do not join in this worship.

Nâdu Bîr.

22. They have a special tribal hero named Nâdu Bîr, of whom the following legend is told:—"Once upon a time there lived in Magadha or Vihâra a Bhuiya woman of exquisite loveliness. She had a son named Nâdu, who surpassed his mother in beauty. He was accustomed to roam in the forest and hunt any animal that fell in his way. One day he went out a-hunting equipped with a bow and arrows. When he got into the forest he happened to see a deer, which he pursued. He chased it till nightfall with no success. As he had gone far into the forest he lost his way, and was quite at a loss to know what to do and where to go. Thirsty and tired, he wandered about till he reached fortunately the Kuti or hermitage of an inspired ascetic,

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[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 115, *sq.*
[2] Dalton, *Ethnology*, 179.
[3] f. *ibid*, 148.

Koela Rishi by name. Seeing the ascetic he bowed down to the earth before him and begged for water, of which he stood badly in want. Koela Rishi took pity on him, and calling his wife and daughter told them to give him what he wanted. The daughter, in obedience to her father's bidding, brought out a gourd full of water, and her mother gave him fruits and roots, the only food of the ascetic. The Bhuiya fed on the fruits and roots, and quenched his thirst with water. He passed the night there. But since he saw the daughter of the ascetic he was so much enamoured of her beauty that he became beside himself. In the morning he got up and went to take leave of the ascetic to go home. The ascetic saw through his mental eyes that the Bhuiya was enamoured of his daughter's beauty, and also that his daughter was in love with him. He consulted his wife on the subject, and with her permission he married his daughter to the Bhuiya. Nâdu with his sweetheart returned to his mother, who was named Kamala. Kamala was exceedingly glad to see the wife of her son so beautiful and good. Nâdu loved his wife so much that he could never bear to leave her. For a long time they lived together, but the union was unhappily not blessed with a child. Discouraged and disheartened, Nâdu ran away from home without giving any notice to his wife or mother. After many days' journey he reached Kamaru Kamachcha. One day as he was taking a walk in the streets of the city the eyes of the daughter of the King of that city fell on him. She invited Nâdu to dinner, and made love to him. Her name was Naina Jogini. After some time she began to dread that some other King's daughter would appropriate her lover. To avoid this she turned Nâdu during the day into an ox through her magical powers, and at night changed him into a man, and lived with him. In this way some days were passed. After some time Nâdu remembered his wife and home, and begged Naina to allow him to visit his native land. Naina at first refused permission, but at last finding that Nâdu could not live long unless he was given leave, she granted him leave for a fortnight, and caused him through her magical powers to reach home within a couple of hours. He met his wife, stayed with her, and she became in child. Nâdu, true to his promise, left home and reached Kamaru Kamachcha on the fixed day. But when he left home he wrote his address on the gate of the door. He also told his wife that the child, when born, would search him out. In nine months Kausalya was delivered of a child most beautiful, and he

was named Tulasi Bîr. Tulasi Bîr was so powerful, even on the day of his birth, that when he saw the light he at once proceeded to the fields and brought to the house a very heavy log that was lying there to be burnt in the *saur*, or room in which his mother was secluded. At the age of five he made a *gulli* of lead, 25 maunds in weight, and a *danda*, 52 maunds in weight, of iron. With these he used to play tipcat. When he attained his seventh year he read the writing on the gate, and having come to know that his father was a prisoner in Kamaru Kamachcha, in the hands of Naina Jogini, he flew into a passion, and started immediately for Kamaru Kamachcha. Reaching there, he commenced fighting with the forces of Naina Jogini, He set fire to the fort, and it was in a moment turned into a heap of ashes. The whole army was killed, driven back, or burnt by Tulasi Bîr. Naina used all her magical powers to defeat Tulasi, but in vain. Tulasi rescued his father and brought him home.

23. Another bold adventure of a Bhuiya hero is thus described:—In the city of Marang there lived two brothers, Ganga Râm and Gajâdhar. They had a sister, Bârij Somati by name, who was very beautiful, and for whose love many men from distant quarters fought with her brothers, were defeated, and returned home heart-broken. When Tulasi was informed of it he fell in love with her without seeing her. He started for Marang, taking leave of his mother and father. He first sent word to Ganga Râm and Gajâdhar to give their sister to him in marriage. But they paid no attention to the message. Tulasi then fought a duel with the two brothers, defeated them, and took their sister by force, and brought her home and married her. Lahang Bîr was born of Bârij Somati. He was a very powerful man. Bhuiyas still speak of his boldness and bravery in very high terms, and worship him with prayers and sacrifices after every two years outside the village or in the family kitchen. They worship him in this way:—

24. They dig a hole in the ground five or six cubits deep and one or two cubits long. They burn fire in it, and walk on it bare foot. They say that the man who is possessed of the Bîr does not feel any sensation of burning by walking on fire. They also scatter thorny branches of *ber* and *kankor* on the ground, and roll on them. They say that the thorns become blunt when a man possessed of Lahang Bîr rolls on them. Those who are possessed of the Bîr pronounce blessings on the Bhuiyas, and they believe that these blessings turn out true. Bhuiyas offer him sacrifices of goats, fowls, and hogs.

Festivals.

25. The only Hindu festival which they observe is the Anant Chandas (14th light half of Bhâdon). They fast on that day and wear a thread on the right arm, over which some rude spells (*mantra*) are recited. Then they go into the forest and cut a branch of the *karam* tree (*anthocephalus cadamba*) which they fix up in the court-yard. The men bow to it, and the women decorate it with red lead. Then they get drunk, dance round it, and sing the *karama* songs. The festival is an occasion of rude license and debauchery. It is understood that if any girl takes a fancy to a man she has only to kick him on the ankle during the dance, and the parents get the pair married forthwith. They believe firmly that persons killed by tigers become dangerous ghosts. They are worshipped periodically by the Baiga with offerings of fowls and liquor at a mud shrine erected at the place the person was killed.[1] This is called the Baghaut. They also believe in the appearance of ghostly fires in the jungle at night. One of these blazes on the Juriya hill in Pargana Dudhi. It is said to be the fire of some holy faqîr, but when any one goes near the place it disappears. If any one goes into the forest wearing a red cloth the ghosts (*bhût*) which inhabit old *mahua* (*bassia latifolia*) and *pîpal* trees (*ficus Indica*) enter into him. A person in such a state has to go into the forest and bow down before every tree of these species until the ghost leaves him. The field deity is Hariyâri Devi ("the goddess of greenness"). She is worshipped in the field by the Baiga with a sacrifice of fowls and liquor when the harvest is completed.

Ancestor worship.

26. They dread the ghosts of the dead and offer sacrifices and lay out food for them through the head of the house. If they are not fed they remain hungry in the next world, appear in dreams, and show their displeasure by besetting their living friends in the form of the nightmare, which grips their throats, sits on their breasts, and vampire-like drinks their blood at night. They appear to have no knowledge

[1] The worshippers of people killed by tigers numbered 7,784 according to the Report of 1891. Mr. Baillie remarks (*page* 216), that the worship is general throughout Oudh and the Gorakhpur Districts. "In Gorakhpur, Gonda, or Bahrâich, it might have been expected, but it seems extraordinary that such worship has retained its hold in Sultânpur. Probably the comparative rarity of such a death in the Southern Districts of late years made it appear the more impressive and preserved its memory the longer." For Baghaut worship, see *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore*, 167.

of the remarkable mock human sacrifice described by Colonel Dalton.[1]

Various superstitions, omens, oaths, exorcisms.

27. Friday is their lucky day, and Saturday is unlucky. The numbers three and five are lucky. The note of the Suiya bird singing on the left is a favourable meeting omen. The East is the lucky direction. They swear on the head of their sons, and by holding the tail of a cow. These oaths are used for the decision of private disputes concerning tribal discipline. They believe in magic and witchcraft. Only special sorcerers (*ojha*) and witches (*tonahi*) have this power. They attack their victims by throwing dust on them, and making them eat some special food, which brings the victim under their influence. The Ojha prescribes in cases of witch or ghost possession. He names the particular bhût which is at the root of the mischief, and directs an offering of a fowl or a young pig, which he sacrifices and eats himself. Ojhas also pretend to be able to foretell the future. They do not believe much in dreams, except as an indication that the deceased ancestors are displeased with them. They believe in the Evil Eye, which is a power residing principally in persons born on Saturday. There are special spells (*mantra*) to obviate it. Any member of the tribe can learn and use these.

Social observances.

28. The women tattoo themselves in the way common to all the allied tribes. They will not touch a Dom, Dharkâr, Dhobi, or Chamâr; nor the wife of the wife's elder brother, the wife of the younger brother, or the mother of the wife or husband of their son or daughter. In the morning they will not mention a monkey or a tiger. They do not eat the flesh of the cow, buffalo, monkey, crocodile, snake, lizard, or jackal. They eat pork, fowl, fish, and rats. Women do not eat with men; the men eat first and women afterwards. They use tobacco and liquor freely, and the latter is considered to ward off malaria. But habitual drunkenness is discreditable. Younger people salute their elders in the *paêlagi* form, and the elders give the blessing, *nîkê raho*, "may you be happy." Old men are cared for, and women, who are much used in outdoor and domestic work, appear to be treated with a tolerable amount of consideration. But if they are disobedient, wives are beaten by their husbands. Doms and Dharkârs will eat their leavings. They will eat food

[1] *Ethnology*, 146.

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cooked by Brâhmans, Râjputs, or Banyas, and Ahîrs. Among the aboriginal tribes the only ones from whose hands they will eat food are the Kharwârs.

Occupation.

29. Most of them are hereditary serf ploughmen (*harwâha*). The usual wages are three *sers* of coarse grain *per diem* and ten annas in cash *per mensem*. In winter they get a blanket, and in the rains a palm leaf umbrella hat (*khumari*): at the beginning and ending of the sowing season they get a special dinner from their masters. Some have risen in the social scale, cultivate on their own account, and keep cattle and sheep. Some of the Mirzapur Bhuiyas are makers of catechu (*khair*), and are hence known as Khairaha. They are quiet, industrious, simple, confiding people.

Local organization.

30. They have a local organization called "the unity" (*eka*) embracing a group of villages. When any one encroaches on their rights they meet and discuss the matter.

Clothes and jewelry.

The women are tolerably decently dressed. The men's dress is sometimes terribly scanty. Women wear no ornament in the nose: in the ears they wear palm leaf ornaments (*tarki*); on the neck beads (*guriya*), and necklaces; on the hands *mattiya*, and rings on the fingers. The men wear brass earrings and bead necklaces.

Bhuiyâr: Bhuînhâr.—A Dravidian tribe in the hill country of South Mirzapur. They are also known as Beonriha from *beonra*, which is a local term for the dahya system of cultivation by which patches of jungle are periodically burnt down and brought under the plough. Mr. Jonathan Duncan in one of his reports speaks of them under the name of Bewariyas, and describes them as being in such an exceedingly wild and uncivilised state as not to have attended him to make their settlement.[1] It is needless to say that they have no connection with the semi-gipsy Bâwariyas. The tribe is also known as Baiga, because large numbers of the aboriginal local priests are derived from this caste. The word Bhuînhâr (Sanskrit, *bhûmi-hâra*) means "land-holder," and is a title of some of the allied tribes, *e. g.*, the Mundas.[2] They are probably identical with the Bhuryas described by Dr. Ball.[3] It is hardly

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[1] *Collection of Papers relating to the Settlement of South Mirzapur, page* 2.
[2] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., 102.
[3] *Jungle Life*, 418.

necessary to say that they have no connection with the regular half Brâhman half Kshatriya Bhuînhârs of the Gangetic valley.

2. The Mirzapur Bhuiyârs can name fitteen exogamous septs (*kuri*). Five of these the Khagoriha, Suidaha, Khatkariha, Deohariya, Chargoriha, are admittedly local septs, deriving their names from the villages in which they originated. They have branched off in comparatively recent times. The original ten septs are probably in a large degree of totemistic origin. These are Bhuînhâr or "land-holder," Nâpan "the measurer;" Bhûsar, "the chaff men;" Bhall "arrow men;" Sisi; Bunbun, the bumble bee; Karwa, "bitter;" Râê, "leader;" Daspût, son of a slave; Bhaniha, "he that has the rays of the sun," many of which are possibly nicknames. If any of these titles were originally totemistic their significance has now been lost.

Tribal constitution.

3. These septs (*kuri*) are all exogamous, and marriage within the septs is absolutely forbidden. This rule, which obviously permits very close intermarriage, is not supplemented by the complete formula *mamera*, *chachera*, *phuphera* and *mausera*, which bars the line of the paternal and maternal uncle and aunt. Here only the line of the paternal and maternal uncle within one generation is excluded; and after this intermarriage between their descendants is allowed.

Rule of exogamy.

4. Their traditions of origin are very vague. They speak of a place called Bhaunradah as their original headquarters, but of this they know nothing more than that it is somewhere to the south.

Traditions of origin.

5. They have a tribal council (*panchâyat*) which meets occasionally. There is no permanent president (*mahto*), but the oldest or most competent person is appointed at each meeting. If a man is convicted of adultery or fornication he is generally put out of caste for a year or two. He is then restored on providing a feast for the clansmen. The penalty is particularly high in the cases of incestuous connection with women within the prohibited degrees. If proved guilty of such conduct he has to provide five goats and as much liquor as can be made in one distillation from a single still (*bhatti*). If the woman with whom he is detected in an intrigue belongs to another caste, the fine is one still of liquor and two goats. He must obey the order of the council. If he is contumacious the fine is increased: if he submits and pleads poverty, it is often reduced.

Tribal council.

Marriage.

6. A man may marry in any of the ten septs (the five last being regarded as only offshoots from the others), provided both parties are in possession of full caste rights. Among these people we have a distinct survival of marriage by capture in the sort of wrestling or struggle which takes place between the bride and bridegroom, before the latter during the marriage ceremony applies red lead to the parting of the hair of the former. This custom of applying red lead is an obvious survival or the original blood covenant when the bride was marked with blood drawn from the body of the bridegroom, and thus formally united to him. A man may have as many wives as he can afford to purchase with the bride-price and support. The senior wife is held in special respect and gets more jewelry and better clothes than her juniors. She alone represents the women of the family at social celebrations. This appears, as Dr. Westermarck remarks, to indicate a transition from monogamous to polygynous habits, and not *vice versâ*, as has often been suggested.[1] If the family house is large the wives all live together; if not, in separate rooms grouped round the common courtyard.[2] Another peculiarity among this tribe is the intense fear of the menstrual pollution.[3] There are always two doors to the dwelling house, one of which is used only by women in this condition. While impure the woman is fed by her husband apart from the rest of the family, and whenever she has to go out she is obliged to creep out on her hands and knees so as to avoid polluting the house thatch by her touch. Concubinage and polyandry are both prohibited, and the latter is looked upon with such horror by them that it seems impossible to believe that it could ever have been a tribal institution.[4] Women enjoy a considerable amount of liberty both before and after marriage. If an unmarried girl is detected in an intrigue with a clansman, the tribal council imposes a fine on her paramour and marries her to him. The fine consists of a goat, rice, and liquor. The marriage age for girls is from ten to twelve, and to delay the marriage of girls to a later period is considered unseemly. As the people put it, "the brotherhood jeer" (*birâdari hansat*). The marriage of a boy is arranged by his

[1] *History of Human Marriage*, 508.
[2] *Ibid*, 499.
[3] *Ibid*, 485: Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, 238, *sqq.*
[4] Letourneau, *Evolution of Marriage*, 76.

sister's husband (*bahnoi*). It usually takes place by arrangement between the pair, but love matches are allowed and are not unusual. The bride-price consists of a sheet (*orhna*) valued at three rupees, five rupees in cash, and fifteen *sers* of liquor. The bride receives the sheet, and the money and the liquor are used in the marriage feast. This is the invariable rate and does not vary with the means of the parties. If after marriage it turns out that the bridegroom becomes mad, blind, leprous, or impotent, her relations will withhold the bride. In this case, if the husband have a younger brother, the marriage is annulled by the council, and the bride is again married to her brother-in-law by the less regular form used in the case of widows, *i.e.*, by *sagâi*. On the other hand if after marriage any defects manifest themselves in the bride her husband is bound to accept her, and if before marriage the relations of the bride were aware of any defect in the bridegroom the marriage cannot be broken.

Divorce.

7. Adultery in the wife when proved to the satisfaction of the council is a ground for putting her away, but no evidence short of the testimony of eye-witnesses to the act of adultery is accepted. Adultery in the husband is not a ground for divorce, but if his misconduct is brought to the notice of the council they will reprimand him. Ill-treatment, again, on the part of the husband is not a ground for divorce, but the wife generally takes matters into her own hands and escapes to the house of her parents, who will not restore her until the husband gives security that the ill-usage will not be repeated. The cost of brides acts, it is needless to say, as a check on ill-usage or desertion.[1] A divorced wife is allowed to marry again by the *sagâi* form with the permission of the council.

Widow marriage and the levirate.

8. Widows can marry again by the form known as *sagâi*, and women are so valuable that every young widow if not taken over by her brother-in-law is married to some one else. If a man wishes to marry a widow be must secure her consent and that of her relations. When this is granted he takes for her a set of palm-leaf earrings (*tarki*), brass arm rings (*churla*), and glass bangles (*chûri*). These he puts on the widow, takes her home, and gives a feast to the clansmen of goat's flesh and rice. This feast is called after the ear-rings

[1] Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 532.

tarki bhât. The levirate prevails under the usual restriction that it is only the younger brother of the husband who can claim the widow of his elder brother. If he resigns his claim she can marry an outsider: she takes with her to her new home only infant children of her first husband. The others are taken care of by the brother of their father. The widow has no right to succeed her late husband: his heirs are his sons, or, in default of sons, his brother. In the case of the levirate there is no fiction that the children of the second marriage are affiliated to the first husband. As a rule all marriageable widows are taken either in the levirate or remarried by *sagâi*.

Adoption.

9. The tribe profess to have elaborate, rules of adoption, which are, however, clearly derived from an imitation of the practice of their Hindu neighbours. There is no religious idea about adoption. All that is certain is that only a sonless man can adopt, that he must adopt in his own sept, and that almost as a matter of course he adopts his brother's son. The uncertainty of the conception of adoption is shown in the fact that the adopted son is allowed to retain his right of succession in the property of his natural father.

Beena marriage.

10. Beena marriages by the custom known as *gharjaiyân* or *ghardamâda*, when the bridegroom serves a period of probation for his bride are usual. In such a case the son-in-law has no right of inheriting from his father-in-law, but retains the right of inheritance from the estate of his father.

Succession.

11. The sons are the sole heirs to the estate of their father. Primogeniture is so far observed that while the children of all wives share equally, the eldest son of the senior wife gets what is called *tikaiti*, or one in excess of each thing—cattle, cooking vessels, etc.; but if the father die in debt, this right ceases, and all the sons have to contribute equally to discharge the debt. The father during his lifetime cannot nominate one of his sons to get a share superior to that of the others.

Birth.

12. There is no pregnancy ceremony. The mother is attended by her husband's sister (*nanad*), the Chamâr midwife not being employed. The woman lies on the ground during parturition. A fire is lit in the room in which she is secluded as soon as the labour pains commence. The

umbilical cord is merely severed and allowed to dry, when it is taken out and buried in the jungle by the sister-in-law in attendance. The cord retains some mystic significance. Thus a common phrase in quarrels about land is *kya tuhâr nâr e men gâral gayal*—"was your cord buried here that you claim this land?" The cord usually falls off; and is buried on the third day after delivery. The day it falls off her sister-in-law bathes the mother and child, who are again bathed on the expiry of a month from the date of delivery. On that day the sister-in-law cleans and replasters the delivery room (*saur*), and receives from the child's father a sheet (*orhua*), as her remuneration, as well as a piece of cheap jewelry. On that day the mother is pure, and cooks for the family and neighbours of the clan. The husband does not again cohabit with his wife for two or three months after her confinement.[1]

Marriage ceremonies.

13. Until children are married it does not matter from whose hand they take food: after marriage they are obliged to conform to caste regulations. The marriage negotiations commence by some old man of the tribe or the boy's father going to inspect the girl. Then the husband of the bridegroom's sister goes to her with five *sers* of liquor and two rupees, thus concluding the betrothal, which is known among them as *puchhâwat* or "the asking." If the bride's father accepts the proposal, he summons his clansmen and distributes the liquor among them. At the same time they are given a dinner of goat's flesh and rice, which is provided by the boy's father. After this, on a day fixed by the girl's father, the boy's paternal uncle goes again with two vessels, each containing five *sers* of liquor, and takes with him three rupees in cash. This finally concludes the betrothal, which is known as *bajarâwat* or "strengthening," and *barrekhi*, or "the marking down of the bridegroom." This liquor and money are used in entertaining the clansmen of the bride and the envoy of the bridegroom. Next the bride's father presses some oil with his own hands and sends it to the boy's house. This is mixed with turmeric, and the bridegroom is daily anointed with it by his female relations. In the same way the boy's father presses some oil and sends it for the use of the bride. After this a suitable date is fixed by mutual arrangement, and the bridegroom comes with his procession to the door of the bride. Outside the door the bride's mother

[1] Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 483.

stands with her feet in a basket, and holds in one hand a rice pestle (*mûsal*), and in the other a brass tray (*thâli*), containing some cotton with the seed and a lighted lamp. She moves the pestle five times round the boy's head from left to right and five times again from right to left, and pours the cotton over his head. Next she warms her hands twice over the lamp and presses them on the boy's cheeks, and kisses his lips. After this the boy does salutation (*pâélagi*) to her. She then leads the bridegroom into the inner room, where the girl sits in a corner. He sits there silent for some time. At last some women friends who are also sitting there say,—"Give the boy what he has come for." Then her mother makes the bride stand up and seats her to the left of the bridegroom. This done, the boy returns to his friends, and the bride again retires into her corner. A couple of hours after the pair are seated on two leaf-mats in the courtyard, facing east. Both are stripped by the women, well rubbed with a mixture of oil and turmeric, and dressed in new clothes. After this the boy's party are fed, and liquor is distributed. That night they spend in singing and dancing the *karama* or national dance. Next day they meet again, the friends of bride and bridegroom sitting in a line opposite each other. The boy's father produces the bridegroom before the bride's people; and says,—"Look! has he any physical defect?" The bride's father replies,—"No! there is nothing wrong with him." In the same way the bride's father produces the bride for examination, and the bridegroom's father admits that she has no physical defect. All this is done in the courtyard outside the nuptial pavilion (*mânro*). Then a mock struggle commences between the bride and bridegroom. He tries to put a bracelet on her wrist, and she clenches her hand, so that he is unable to get it on. Her friends shout out,—"Her hand can never be opened until you swear that you will take care of her and never give her trouble." Finally, when the bridegroom makes the necessary promise, the girl opens her hand, and allows the bracelet to be put on her wrist. Then the boy pours a little liquor on her feet, and after another mock struggle marks the parting of her hair with red lead. There are no revolutions in the pavilion, and this constitutes the marriage. The bridegroom then brings the bride home. When they reach his house his mother receives the bride in the same way in which the bridegroom was received by the bride's mother, and takes her inside the house, where, after feeding the clansmen, the clothes of the pair are fastened in a knot, and they dance together in

the courtyard. The binding part of the ceremony is putting on the marriage bracelet, and applying red lead to the parting of the bride's hair. Even after the ceremonies already described of *puchhâwat*, *bajarâwat*, or *barrekhi*, the marriage can be stopped. If the bride's people break off the marriage they are compelled to return the bride-price. The form of marriage already described is known as *char-hauwa* or "the offering," as the bride is offered to the bridegroom. This is the respectable form; but besides this, the form known as *sagâi* is in force. In this case the lover sends a friend to procure the consent of the bride's father. When this is granted, he goes to her house with ten rupees in cash, and five *sers* of liquor. The girl's friends drink the liquor, and the money is given to her father, or if her father be dead, to her elder brother. Then the man spreads out his hands over that of the woman, and her brother pours some water over the hands of both. This constitutes the marriage ceremony, and the bridegroom goes home at once, followed by the bride. When they reach his house his mother comes out with a vessel (*lota*) of water, washes the bridegroom's feet, and blesses him with long life. Then she washes the feet of the bride, who puts her forehead on the feet of her mother-in-law. The old woman tries to raise her up, but she will not get up until she receives a present known as "the sacrifice" (*baldân*). Then the old woman says,—"I make over the house and all it contains to you." On this the bride releases her feet, and her mother-in-law takes her into the house, and makes everything over to her. That day the young wife cooks for the family and friends. This *sagâi* form is something like the *dola* of low class Hindus, and is practised by people who cannot afford a regular marriage.

Death ceremonies.

14. No one is allowed to die in the house.[1] People who die of cholera and small-pox and unmarried persons are buried; all others are cremated. They have regular cemeteries in the neighbourhood of their villages. The corpse is cremated on the edge of an adjoining stream. Very often, however, cremation is very carelessly performed, and in epidemics corpses are exposed in the jungle to be eaten by wild animals. Next day the ashes are collected and floated away (*serwâna*) by throwing them into the water. On the third day the relation who fired the pyre goes with the clansmen to the river, and they shave

[1] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I., 453.

one another. That day a date is fixed for the funeral feast, when they assemble at the house of the deceased, and a little oil and turmeric are given them, which they rub into their bodies. From the day of the funeral the women of the family place some food on the road by which the corpse was removed.[1] This is discontinued from the night preceding the date of the funeral feast. On that day a cupful of food and a cup of oil are taken by the oldest woman of the family to the cremation place and thrown into the water. When she comes home a goat is sacrificed in the house in the name of the deceased, and in the evening the clansmen are fed on the flesh of the victim boiled with rice.

Ancestor worship.

15. The souls of the dead, that is to say those of a dead father and mother, for more distant progenitors are hardly ever recognized, are feared and require propitiation. If not duly worshipped they appear in dreams, frighten the sleeper, and sit on his chest and throat like the nightmare. Most diseases and misfortunes are due to their displeasure. The annual sacrifice of a goat and fowl is made to them by the house master in the month of Aghan (November-December). Poor people who cannot afford a victim wash some rice and pulse and scatter it in the courtyard in the name of the dead.

Religion.

16. They call themselves Hindus. Their tribal god is called Sewanriya and appears originally to be a deity of boundaries (*sewâna*). Some worship Dharti or Mother-earth, and some Mahâdeva. They have a vague idea of a place of torment after death, a pit full of snakes and scorpions known as *kîragarh* or the "worm pit;" but it is doubtful how far this may not be some vague reminiscence of missionary teaching.[2] In the month of Aghan, when they worship the sainted dead, they offer to these deities liquor, fowls, and goats. They believe that this worship protects children and cattle from disease, and prevents the latter from straying. This worship is not shared in by the women

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[1] Tylor, *Primitive, Culture*, II., 30.

[2] At the same time this seems to be a real belief of the Santâls. Hunter, *Rural Bengal*, 210; and see Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 97, and Professor Max Müller writes:—"In the Vedic accounts of hell a pit (*karta*) is mentioned into which the lawless are said to be hurled down (*Rig Veda*, IX, 73, 8), and into which Indra casts those who offer no sacrifice (*Rig Veda*, I., 121, 13). One poet prays that the Adityas may preserve him from the destroying wolf and from falling into the pit (*Rig Veda*, II., 29, 6). In one passage we read that those who break the commandments of Varuna and who speak lies are born for that deep place (*Rig Veda*, IV. 5, 5.)." *Cf. Basor*, 7.

and children, and is done by the headman of the family, if a Baiga. They have nothing to say to Brâhmans, for whom they entertain contempt.[1] The Brâhmans, they say, were the drummers of Râma's army in his campaign against Râwana. As they were crossing the sea their drums (*mândar*) which, like the aboriginal drums of the present time, were made of baked earth, melted away in the water, and the strings which supported them became the Brâhmans' sacred cord (*janeû*). They do not keep priests of any other tribe; and have no regular temple. As already stated, the ancestor worship is done by the head of the family, who if, as is usually the case, he is a Baiga, does the worship to Sewanriya, Dharti, and Mahâdeva. Most Bhuiyârs are Baigas, and officiate in their own as well as allied tribes; in fact, as already stated, one general name for the tribe is Baiga. The tribal gods are usually worshipped under a *pîpal* tree, where a piece of stone represents all the deities collectively. The flesh of the offerings is eaten by the worshippers, except the head, which is the perquisite of the Baiga.

Festivals.

17. They have two special holidays on the tenth of the light half of Kuâr, and the Phagua or Holi at the full moon of Phâlgun, but they do not burn the Holi fire, although they will attend if Hindus in the neighbourhood celebrate the festival. On both these festivals they offer a fire sacrifice (*hom*), and worship the sainted dead with an offering of fowls and liquor, which they drink freely on these occasions. In order to provide for the dead in the next world they throw on the pyre with the corpse some iron implement, usually an axe, and when they bury the dead, they throw it into the grave. It is not broken; with women they place a sickle (*hansua*) and when they collect the ashes they throw some *kodo* and *sâwân* millet over the place as food for the dead. They so far follow Hindu practice as to have a ceremony (*barsi*) on the anniversary of a death. In the house worship a mud platform or stone is the dwelling place of the ghosts of the dead. Sewanriya is regarded as a jungle deity, and abides in any tree which is selected for the purpose. They never go on pilgrimages to Gaya, and have nothing analogous to the Hindu *srâddha*.

[1] This condition in which there are no priests and the religious duties are performed by the house father is undoubtedly primeval. It was the case among the Homeric Greeks where Agamemnon himself performs the sacrifice (*Iliad*, III. 271, and compare Wilson, *Preface* to *Vishnu Purâna*, 2, Virgil *Æneid* III, 80, *Genesis*, XIV, 17.

18. They have a great respect for iron above all other metals. They hold the *bhânja* or sister's son in great honour, and make periodical presents to him as Hindus do to a Brâhman.[1] These presents always include some iron article.

Superstitions.

19. Of the tribe whom he calls Bhuînhârs Colonel Dalton says :— "They are about the lowest type of human beings I have ever come across in my wanderings, and I have had more opportunities than most people of seeing varieties of race. They are very dark, (41, about the average), faces, or rather heads, altogether round as bullets, projecting jaws and lips, scarcely any prominence of nose, pig's eyes, large bodies, and small limbs, no muscular development, very short of stature, not one of them more than five feet, very filthy in their persons, with diseased skins and sore eyes. One creature, an adult male of a group which appeared before me at Moheri, in Sarguja, looked to me like a disgustingly superannuated black baby. Baby-like, his round head rolled about his shoulders on a very short and unnaturally weak neck. You could imagine his proper place to be bundled up in a cloth slung from the shoulders of his black mother, his head helplessly rolling about after the manner of native infants thus supported. They speak Hindi plainly enough, but appear as devoid of ideas as they are of beauty. They adore the sun and their ancestors, but they have no notion that the latter are now spirits, or that there are spirits or ghosts or anything. They have no veneration for a tiger, but regard him as a dangerous enemy, whom it is their interest to slay whenever they have the opportunity. They were asked to dance, and did so; but it was a singularly feeble, motiveless performance. Men and women were scantily clothed, and appeared to take no thought for their personal appearance. The hair, uncared-for, was matted and rusty coloured. The Bhuînhârs in Palamau are said to be good cultivators; but I believe this means they are very docile farm labourers and beasts of burden. They appear to have no independence of character, and are for the most part in servitude or bondage, and content so to remain. If we have now in existence the descendants of human beings of the stone age, here I would say are specimens. They remind me much of the specimens I have seen of

Appearance, clothes, tattooing.

[1] This may possibly be a survival of the matriarchate, see Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, 146.

the Andamanese."[1] These are certainly in every way a more degraded race than the Bhuîyârs of Mirzapur who in appearance do not seem to differ much from the other Dravidian tribes by whom they are surrounded. They rather resemble the people whom Colonel Dalton calls Boyars. "In complexion," he says, "I found the Boyars generally of a dark brown colour, fairly proportioned, and averaging upwards of five feet in height. The features were characterised by great breadth across the cheek bones, very narrow forehead, nose broad, nostrils wide apart, but the nasal bone more prominent than in the types previously described; the mouth so wide as nearly to equal the space occupied by both eyes, lips protuberant, chin receding, but not so the brow. There was more appearance of hair on the face than is generally found amongst the tribes of this class."[2] The Mirzapur people are also much better dressed than their Bengal kinsmen. The men wear a small loin cloth, generally have an upper sheet and a cloth wrapped round the head, the hair of which is allowed to hang down uncut and unkempt behind. The women wear the single white cotton cloth (*dhoti*) wrapped round the waist and brought over the shoulders. A few wear a small boddice. The women tattoo themselves in the manner common to all these aboriginal tribes.[3] There is no tribal tattoo, and the pattern employed is according to the taste of the wearer. Tattooing is invested with some religious significance; if a woman is not tattooed Paramesar pitches her down from heaven when she dies. The women wear on their arms brass rings (*râthi, bahunta*), anklets (*pairi*), in the ears palm leaf ornaments (*tarki*), with beads made of clay round the neck. The men have small brass earrings.

Omens, oaths, witchcraft, Evil Eye.

20. Their lucky omens are the tiger and the elephant. They have not the Hindu prejudice against the south as an unlucky quarter. They swear on their sons' heads, and if they forswear themselves their sons die. These oaths are used in enquiries into tribal matters. They are much witch-ridden. The Baigas hate people with a reputation for witchcraft (*tonaya*), and expel them, if possible, from their villages. Disease is usually caused by the attacks of ghosts (*bhût*): these are identified by the Ojha, who places some rice (*achhat*)

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[1] *Descriptive Ethnology*, 133.
[2] *Ibid*, 135.
[3] See *Agariya*, para. 22.

before him. Then he and the patient get into an ecstacy, and the Ojha asks the bhût:—"What worship (*pûja*) do you require to let this man go?" Whatever he announces must be done. Dreams never mean anything except that one of the sainted dead needs propitiation. The meaning is interpreted by some old woman in the family. They believe in the Evil Eye. Anyone born on a Saturday has the power of casting it. Cases of this kind are made over to the Baiga, who sacrifices a victim and secures relief.

Social customs.

21. They will not touch a Dhobi, a Chamâr, Dharkâr, Dom, or Ghasiya: nor the wife of the younger brother, the wife's elder sister, paternal uncle's wife, and a female connection through the marriage of children (*samdhin*). They eat beef, but in secret they will in fact eat any meat except that of the ass, the horse, the camel, snake, lizard, rat, and jackal. Women do not eat pork,[1] and they will not cook it in the cook-house where the sainted dead are worshipped. Men and women eat apart; first the children eat, then the men, of whom the head of the family eats last, and last of all the women. They always eat in leaf vessels. They all chew tobacco: even children five and six years old may be seen chewing. All drink liquor, but drunkenness is considered discreditable. They do not use opium or the drugs *bhang* and *gânja*.

Salutation and social status.

22. Among themselves they salute in the form known as *pâêlagi*. If the husband is any time absent, on his return his wife touches his feet with her hands. Chamârs are the highest caste who will eat food touched by them. They carry their contempt for Brâhmans so far that they will not eat food touched by them, and if a Brâhman handle one of their water vessels they will pitch it out of the house. Their usual business is cutting wood and bamboos, and collecting silk cocoons, lac, dyes, and other jungle produce. It is only quite recently that they have taken to eating anything but jungle fruits. Now some of them cultivate, and as their name shows they are fond of the *dahya* form of cultivation, cutting and burning the jungle. They have a field goddess, Khetiyâr Devi, whom they propitiate with the offering of goat or a fowl. The women are reputed chaste in married life as far as intercourse with strangers to the caste is concerned, but there is certainly a very considerable amount

[1] Among the Mahili Mundas pork is tabooed. Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., 12.

of intertribal immorality. They have a fairly strong local organization which embraces some three or four villages, and is known as "the unity" (*eka*). The members meet occasionally to discuss matters of general interest. Its influence is said now to be decreasing. They are notorious for their laziness in field work, and for their readiness to abscond and leave their village on the first signs of scarcity.

23. The Bhuiyârs do not appear to have been separately recorded at the last Census. They have apparently been confused with the Brâhman Râjput Bhuînhârs of the Gangetic valley.

Bhurtiya.—A small tribe found, according to the last Census, only in Allahâbâd, but there are some certainly in the hill country of Mirzapur. The origin of the name is very uncertain. Mr. Nesfield without much probability derives it from *bhurti karna*, "to lend money for short periods." They say themselves that it comes from *bhurti*, which is the same as *phurti*, "quickness," because one of their ancestors was once in such a hurry to go to an entertainment that she put her ornaments on all awry, and her descendants have been called Bhurtiya ever since. They claim to be an offshoot of the Ahîrs, whom they closely resemble in appearance and customs. They are very respectable, industrious people, and make their livelihood by cultivation and rearing cattle.

Distribution of the Bhurtiyas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Allahâbâd	423

Bidua.—A functional division of Brâhmans, the consecrator of images and idols, wells, tanks, and mango orchards. "His name seems a corruption of Vidya, an ancient synonym for Veda. The dol intended for consecration undergoes various forms of ablution: first in water from some sacred river, then in *panchamrita* or 'five drinks of immortality'—milk, cream, melted butter, honey, and sugar dissolved in holy water. No one is allowed to bathe in a tank, drink water from a well, or eat the fruit of an orchard until the above liquids have been thrown into them. Brâhmans are also

fed, and the homa sacrifice performed. At such times seven places are assigned,—(*a*) for the *navagraha*, the nine planets including the sun and moon; (*b*) the asterisms (*nakshatra*); (*c*) the seven saints (*Sapta Rishi*); (*d*) the three hundred and thirty millions of deities of the Hindu pantheon; (*e*) the ancestral ghosts (*pitri*); (*f*) the deities of the quarters (*dikpati, dikpâla*); (*g*) the sacred rivers of India and of the celestial firmament."[1]

Bihishti.—(Usually derived from Persian *bihisht*, Sanskrit *vasishtha*, "Paradise;" but Major Temple points out[2] that *bihishti* in Persian does not mean waterman, and suggests a derivation from the Sanskrit *vish*, to sprinkle.)—The Musalmân water-carrier class, also known as Saqqa, from the Arabic *saqqi*, "to give to drink." The caste does not admit outsiders, and has a large number of exogamous sections, of which one hundred and twenty-six are returned in the lists of the last Census. Many of these are well-known Muhammadan sub-divisions, such as the Abbâsi, Bahlîmi, Bangash, Begi, Fârûqi, Ghori, Hanafi, Khurasâni, Quraishi, Mughal, Pathân, Shaikh, Sadîqi, Sayyid, Turki, and Turkomân, to which none of the caste can have any real claim. Many are the names of Hindu tribes, as Bais, Banjâra, Bhatti, Chauhân, Gaur, Gûjar, Guâl, Jâdon, Janghâra, Jât, Katheriya, Mewâti, Mukeri, Panwâr, and Tomar. Others, again, are local, as Dilliwâl, Gangapâri, and Kanaujiya. These sections appear, however, to have little or no effect on marriage.

Marriage.

2. Their marriages are regulated by the standard Muhammadan exogamic formula, and performed by the regular ritual. The levirate is permitted, but is not compulsory. Divorce is permited in the cause of proved infidelity on the part of the wife, established to the satisfaction of the tribal council.

Religion.

3. To the east of the Province they worship the Pânchonpîr with a sacrifice of a fowl, gram pulse, and ordinary food. They bury their dead according to the standard Muhammadan rules, and offer food to the spirits of ancestors at the festival of the Shab-i-barât. They are Musalmâns of the Sunni sect. They worship their leathern water bag (*mashk*) as a sort of fetish, and burn incense (*ubân*) before it on

[1] Nesfield, *Brief View*, 52, *sq*; *Calcutta Review*, CLXVII., 265.
[2] *Indian Antiquary*, XI, 117.

Fridays. They conform to Muhammadan rules regarding food. They will eat food prepared by high class Hindus, but not by menials like Chamârs or Mehtars.

Occupation.

4. Their occupation is acting as domestic servants and supplying water on payment to Muhammadans and Christians,—a duty which for Hindus is performed by the Kahâr. The trade must be a very ancient one, as the leather bag is mentioned in the Veda and Manu.[1] There is a legend that the Bihishti who saved Humâyun's life at Chausa, and was rewarded by sitting on the Imperial throne for half a day, employed his short tenure of power in providing for his family and friends, and caused his leather bag to be cut up into rupees, which were gilt and stamped with his name and the date of his reign. The Bihishti is very seldom before the Courts, and enjoys with the Kharâdi or turner the reputation of never being sent to jail.

Distribution of Bihishtis according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Dehra Dûn. . . .	127	Etah	4,265
Sahâranpur . . .	4,203	Bareilly	1,996
Muzaffarnagar. . .	4,920	Bijnor	3,476
Meerut	10,224	Budâun	2,107
Bulandshahr. . . .	7,977	Morâdâbâd . . .	3,380
Aligarh	12,278	Shâhjahânpur . .	350
Mathura	6,263	Pilibhît	595
Agra	10,573	Cawnpur . . .	418
Farrukhâbâd . . .	291	Fatehpur . . .	297
Mainpuri	1,111	Bânda	63
Etâwah	573	Hamîrpur . . .	78

[1] Wilson, *Rig Veda*, II., 28: Manu, *Institutes*, II, 99. There is an interesting account of the manner in, which water was supplied and cooled in Akbar's Court in Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, I., 55, *sq*.

Distribution of Bihishtis according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Allahâbâd	370	Unâo	20
Jhânsi	442	Râe Bareli . . .	55
Jâlaun	99	Sîtapur	219
Lalitpur	6	Hardoi	18
Benares	46	Kheri	211
Ghâzipur	25	Faizâbâd . . .	62
Ballia	265	Gonda	17
Gorakhpur . . .	6	Bahrâich . . .	244
Azâmgarh . . .	2	Sultânpur . . .	95
Tarâi	664	Partâbgarh . . .	9
Lucknow	1,405	Bârabanki . . .	272
		Total .	80,147

Biloch, Baloch, Biluch.—Identified by Professor Max Müller[1] with the Sanskrit *mlechchha*, "a foreigner, outcast, non-Aryan."—The enumeration at the last Census has failed to discriminate between two different though probably originally-allied races—the ordinary Biloch and the predatory Biloch or Rind of the Districts of the Upper Duâb. Another theory of the origin of the name is given by Colonel Möckler in a paper published in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1893:—

"This paper is mainly concerned with the Rind, one of the tribes or clans inhabiting Balochistân. Their name signifies 'a turbulent, reckless, daring man.' They have never acknowledged the authority of any ruler in the country. They claim to be the true Baloch, and assert that they originally came from 'Alaf,' which is supposed by themselves and most other people to be Haleb or Aleppo, in Syria. They say that they are Arabs of the tribe of Quraish, and were driven out from Alaf by Yezîd I., for assisting

[1] *Lectures*, I., 97, note.

Husain, the martyr nephew of the Prophet Muhammad in 61 Hijrah. The author shows, however, from some Arab authorities that the Baloch were established in Makran more than a century before the commencement of the Muhammadan era, certainly so if, as Firdusi relates, Naushirwân punished them in Makran in 550 A. D., and still more certainly that they were located there within 22 years after its commencement, and that therefore, if the Rinds left Aleppo in the time of Yezîd I., about 61 H., the Baloch were in Makran before that date. But it is doubtful whether the Rinds ever came from Aleppo, or that they are Baloch at all. It is much more probable that they are the descendants of a certain Al Harith Al 'Alafi, that is of Harith of the 'Alafi tribe, and of the Kahtauic stock of Arabs. He was the father of two men, who, according to Tabary, in a blood feud killed an officer who had been appointed by Al Hajjâj, the Governor of Irâq, to the charge of Makran, in 65 Hijrah. They had come from 'Uman, and after the murder took possession of Makran. Subsequently, about 86 Hijrah, they retired before a punitive force of Al Hajjâj into Sindh, where their name is conspicuous in the annals of the country for the next 200 years or so. This, and other facts, show that the Rinds really are of Arab descent, but that they did not come from Aleppo, but are descended from a man of the 'Alafi tribe who came from 'Uman; and that they are not of the Quraish but the Kahtan stock. On account of their undoubted Arab descent, the Rinds are held in very high respect by the other clans of Baluchistân who, therefore, all claim to be related to them, through one Jalâl Khân, an ancestor of the Rinds. Among the sons of this Jalâl, Makran is said to have been divided after the death of Al Hajjâj. With regard to the name Baloch, Colonel Möckler suggests its identity with the Gedrosii of the Greeks. He says that the Baloch themselves explain their name by the phrase '*Baloch Badroch*' (or *Badrosh*). Here *bad* means 'evil,' and *roch* or *rosh* means 'day.' In Pahlavi or Zend *gad* is synonymous with *bad*; therefore Badrosh=*gadrosh* or *gadros*, whence the Greek Gedrosii. By the interchange of the liquids *r* and *l*, *badroch* would become *badloch*, out of which the *d* must naturally drop leaving the *Baloch*= the Gadrosii, or on the other hand, the proverbial expression (*Badroch Baloch*) may have been current in the time of the Greeks in the form of *Baloch Godrosh*, and the Greeks confused the epithet with the name.

The latter would then be derived from Belus, King of Babylon, a derivation which is adopted by Professor Rawlinson."

2. Of the ordinary Biloch Mr. Ibbetson writes[1] :—"The Biloch presents in many respects a very strong contrast with his neighbour, the Pathân. The political organisation of each is tribal : but while the one yields a very large measure of obedience to a chief who is a sort of limited monarch, the other recognises no authority save that of a council of the tribe. Both have most of the virtues and many of the vices peculiar to a wild and semi-civilized life. To both hospitality is a sacred duty and the safety of the guest inviolable ; both look upon the exaction of blood for blood as the first duty of man ; both strictly follow a code of honour of their own, though one very different from that of modern Europe ; both believe in one God whose name is Allâh, and whose Prophet is Muhammad. But the one attacks his enemy from in front, the other from behind ; the one is bound by his promise, the other by his interests ; in short the Biloch is less turbulent, less treacherous, less blood-thirsty, and less fanatical than the Pathân ; he has less of God in his creed, and less of the devil in his nature. His frame is shorter and more spare and wiry than that of his neighbour to the north, though generations of independence have given to him a bold and manly bearing. Frank and open in his manners and without servility, fairly truthful when not corrupted by our Courts, faithful to his word, temperate and enduring, and looking upon courage as the highest virtue, the true Biloch of the Derajât frontier is one of the pleasantest men we have to deal with in the Panjâb. As a revenue-payer he is not so satisfactory, his want of industry and the pride which looks upon manual labour as degrading, making him but a poor husbandman. He is an expert rider ; horse-racing is his national amusement, and the Biloch breed of horses is celebrated throughout Northern India. He is a thief by tradition and descent ; but he has become much more honest under the civilising influences of our rule.

The ordinary Biloch.

3. "His face is long and oval, his features finely cut, and his nose aquiline ; he wears his hair long and usually in oily curls, and lets his beard and whiskers grow, and he is very filthy in person, considering cleanliness as a mark of effeminacy. He usually

[1] *Panjâb Ethnography*, 193.

carries a sword, knife and shield, he wears a smock frock reaching to his heels and pleated about the waist, loose drawers and a long cotton scarf: and all these must be as white or as near it as dirt will allow of, insomuch that he will not enter our army because he would there be obliged to wear a coloured uniform. His wife wears a sheet over her head, a long sort of nightgown reaching to her ankles, and wide drawers; her clothes may be red or white; and she plaits her hair in a long queue. As the true Biloch is nomad in his habits, he does not seclude his women, but he is extremely jealous of female honour. In cases of detected adultery the man is killed, and the woman hangs herself by order. Even on the war trail the women and children of his enemy are safe from him. The Biloch of the Hills lives in huts or temporary camps, and wanders with his herds from place to place. In the plains he has settled in small villages; but the houses are of the poorest possible description. When a male child is born to him, ass's dung in water, symbolical of pertinacity, is dropped from the point of a sword into his mouth before he is given the breast. A tally of lives is kept between the various tribes or families; but when the account grows complicated it can be settled by betrothals, or even by payment of cattle. The rules of inheritance do not follow the Islâmic law, but tend to keep the property in the family by confining succession to agnates; though some of the more leading and educated men are said to be trying to introduce the Muhammadan laws of inheritance into their tribes. The Biloch are nominally Musalmân, but singularly ignorant of their religion and neglectful of its rites and observances; and though they once called themselves, and were called by old historians 'friends of Ali,' and though, if their account of their rejection from Arabia be true, they must have been originally Shiahs, they now belong, almost without exception, to the Sunni sect. Like many other Musalmân tribes of the frontier they claim to be Quraishi Arabs by origin, while some hold them to be of Turkomân stock: their customs are said to support the latter theory; their features certainly favour the former."

4. In the Muzaffarnagar District they are also known as Rind.

† The criminal Biloch of the North-Western Provinces.

"They originally emigrated from the Panjâb; that they are professional thieves of a dangerous character is now well established. They depart on their predatory tours assuming the character of faqîrs, physicians, and teachers of the Qurân, and carry on their

depredations at great distances as far southward as Ajmere and westward as Lahore. Some few in the Muzaffarnagar District have acquired landed property; but the rest may be said to have no ostensible means of livelihood and to be habitual absentees. Their mode of robbery is not by violence, but by picking locks with needles. One thief makes an entry, receiving two-thirds of the property as his share, while his confederate, who sits outside to watch, receives one-third."[1] The same people there called Biloch are found in Ambâla and Karnâl. "During the rainy season the whole country is inundated for months. A more suitable stronghold for a criminal tribe could not be imagined. They are almost certainly of true Biloch origin, and still give their tribal names as Rind, Lashari, Jatoi, and Korai. But they are by their habits quite distinct from both the land-owning Biloch and the camel-driver, who is so commonly called Biloch simply because he is a camel-driver. They are described as coarse-looking men of a dark colour, living in a separate quarter, and with nothing to distinguish them from the scavenger caste except a profusion of stolen ornaments and similar property. They say that their ancestors once lived beyound Kasûr, in the Lahore District, but were driven out on account of their marauding habits. The men still keep camels and cultivate a little land as their ostensible occupation; but during a great part of the year they leave the women, who are strictly secluded at home, and wander about disguised as Fakîrs or as butchers in search of sheep for sale, extending their excursions to great distances, and apparently to almost all parts of India."[2]

Distribution of the Biloch according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	41	Mathura . . .	987
Sahâranpur . . .	577	Agra	231
Muzaffarnagar . . .	1,072	Farrukhâbâd . . .	50
Meerut	2,016	Mainpuri . . .	73
Bulandshahr . . .	1,945	Etâwah	67
Aligarh	512	Etah	98

[1] *Report, Inspector-General of Police, North-Western Provinces,* 1867 *page* 94, *sq.*
[2] Ibbetson, *loc. cit.*, para. 583.

Distribution of the Biloch according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Bareilly	11	Ballia	216
Bijnor	815	Gorakhpur	809
Budâun	434	Basti	116
Morâdâbâd	490	Azamgarh	325
Shâhjahânpur	425	Tarâi	223
Pilibhît	231	Lucknow	222
Cawnpur	87	Unâo	26
Bânda	12	Sîtapur	173
Hamîrpur	7	Hardoi	170
Allâhâbâd	113	Kheri	308
Jhânsi	4	Gonda	95
Jâlaun	59	Bahrâich	79
Benares	153	Sultânpur	12
Mirzapur	22	Partâbgarh	11
Jaunpur	314	Bârabanki	10
Ghâzipur	31	Total	13,672

Bind.—A non-Aryan tribe in the Eastern Districts of the Division, and with scattered colonies elsewhere. The name is said to be derived from the Vindhya[1] hills of Central India. One legend quoted by Mr. Risley[2] tells "how a traveller passing by the foot of the hills heard a strange flute-like sound coming out of a clump of bamboos. He cut a shoot and took from it a fleshy substance, which afterwards grew into a man, the supposed ancestor of the Binds. The myth seems to be of a totemistic character, but other traces of totemism are not forthcoming." One account in Mirzapur makes Bind, Kewat, Mallâh, Luniya, Paskewata, Kuchbandhiya, and Musahar the

[1] The word *Vindhya* is probably derived from the root *bind* or *bid*, "to divide." The name, as is suggested by the legend of Agastya Muni, seems to refer to the range as the main barrier against the Brâhmanical exploitation of Central and Southern India: see Professor Wilson, *Works*, III, 332.

[2] *Tribes and Castes*, I, 131.

BIND.

descendants of Nikhâd, who was produced by the Rishis from the thigh of Râja Vena. Another Mirzapur legend tells how, in the beginning of all things, Mahâdeva made a lump of earth and endued it with life. The creature thus produced asked Mahâdeva what he should eat. The god pointed to a tank and told him to eat the fish and the wild rice (*tinni*) which grew near the banks. Since then this is the food of the Binds. They have no traditions of emigration from any other part of the country. The exact position of the Binds is not easily determined. About Mirzapur there are two sub-castes, Kharê and Dhusiya, the latter of whom probably take their name from Jhusi, an old town on the Ganges, in the Allahâbâd District.[1] The Kharê Binds call themselves Kewat, and there seems little doubt that they intermarry with other Kewats. Another story says Binds and Luniyas were formerly all Binds, and that the present Luniyas are descendants of a Bind who consented to dig a grave for a Muhammadan king, and was outcasted for doing so. Others, again, make out the Bind to be a sub-division of both the Bhar and Luniya.[2] There is, again, in Mirzapur, another division of them which is partly religious and partly local. The sub-caste of Kharê Binds has three septs, the Nârâyaniha, Panchopiriha, and Maiwarha. The Nârâyaniha are worshippers of the orthodox Hindu gods, Mahâdeva, Pârvati, Mahâbîr, or Hanumân, and, in particular, Satya Nârâyan or Vishnu. The Pânchopiriha are worshippers of the five saints of Islâm, who should, according to orthodox belief, be Muhammad, Ali, Bîbî Fatima, Hasan, and Husain. But most Binds name them (if they can name them at all), as Ghâzi Miyan, Rajab Sâlâr, Subhân, Parihâr, and Barahma or Barahna, who apparently represents Ibrahîm or Abraham. The Maiwarha themselves derive their name from the town of Mau in the Azamgarh District.

Internal structure.

2. The last Census Returns show sixty-seven sub-castes. The progress attained in the Hinduising of the tribe is shown by the use of Brâhmanical terms, like Garga, Kasipgotra, and Joshi. Chain, Kewat, Mallâh and Kharwâr are side by side with Chauhân, Gûjara, Jât, Maunas, and Râwat. The most numerous sub-castes are the Jethwant or

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[1] *Azamgarh Settlement Report*, 33, sq.

[2] Jhusi was the head-quarters of the eccentric Râja of Harbong, for whom see Elliot, *Supplemental Glossary*, *s. v.*

"Senior," and the Kasipgotra. The Kharê Binds are very strong in Benares, Mirzapur, and Ghâzipur; while the Kharwâr, Kanaujiya, and Maunas are found in some strength in Ghâzipur, Ballia, and Gorakhpur, respectively.

Tribal organisation.

3. They have a tribal council (*panchâyat*) which may be summoned by any man with whom his castemen refuse to eat on the ground of adultery, prostitution, or eating with a prohibited tribesman. It is presided over by a permanent president (*mukhiya*) who consults the members as assessors, but has the sole right of giving the final order, which consists, in case of conviction, of a sentence to give a certain number of feasts to the brethren. When a man seduces an unmarried girl, he and the father of his mistress give a joint feast, and the parties are then married. If a man commit adultery with a woman of a caste so respectable that high caste Hindus will drink water from their hands, he is not excommunicated, but has to give a feast. If his mistress be of a caste from whose hands high caste Hindus will not drink, he is permanently expelled.

Marriage rules.

4. In Mirzapur the Nârâyaniha and Pânchapiriha septs are exogamous, and intermarry on equal terms: they so far practise hypergamy that they give daughters to the Maiwarha, but do not take their daughters in return. This rule of exogamy is reinforced by the prohibition against marrying a daughter into a family into which a son has been already married; and it seems to be a general condition that marriage does not take place between families connected within the period of recollection of relationship, which is five or six generations. The two great sub-castes, Kharê and Dhusiya, are endogamous, and do not intermarry or eat together. The Mirzapur branch have now adopted adult marriages, which take place at the age of ten or twelve.[1] Polygamy is permitted, but the tendency seems to be to restrict it to the case when the first wife becomes barren. Marriages are arranged by some of the seniors of the tribe, and the parties have no power of selection. No bride-price is paid, and the giving of a dowry, though permitted and approved, is not compulsory. Polyandry and concubinage with a woman not of the tribe are prohibited. Widows are remarried by the *sagâi* form only to widowers, the match being arranged by the father or brother of the

[1] In Bengal they are in a transition stage. Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 131.

widow. The man goes to the house of the widow on an auspicious day, taking with him a yellow sheet and one or two articles of jewelry. These the bride puts on, and this is the binding part of the ceremony. Her new husband then eats with the relations of his wife, takes her home next day, and feeds his clansmen. Children by such a marriage are considered legitimate, and succeed on an equality with children of a regular marriage. The levirate is permitted on the usual condition, that the younger brother of the deceased husband can claim the widow: if he declines the match she can marry a stranger, and in the latter case the property of the deceased husband with his children remains in the charge of their father's brother, who rears them and makes the property over to the sons when they attain puberty. They pretend to have a regular system of adoption like that of the higher castes: as a matter of practice, however, a sonless man can adopt only the son of his brother, and in preference of his elder brother. There is nothing peculiar about the rules of succession. Beena marriage (*gharjanwai*) is recognised in the case of poor people when the son-in-law lives some time on probation in the house of his father-in-law. Intertribal infidelity on the part of husband and wife is thought little of, and divorce is practically unknown, except when ill-usage of an aggravated form accompanies adultery on the part of the husband. A married woman detected in an intrigue with a man of another tribe is permanently expelled. She usually turns Muhammadan or becomes a prostitute.

Birth ceremonies.

5. There is no ceremony during pregnancy. The woman is delivered sitting on the ground facing any direction except the south, the region of death. She is attended by a Chamâin widwife, who cuts the cord, buries it in the room, and lights a fire over the place, which is kept burning till the twelfth day. They have the usual extreme fear of pollution from the secretions after delivery or menstruation. The midwife attends till the sixth day, when the usual *chhathi* ceremony is done, and the woman is kept secluded till the twelfth day (*barahi*) in charge of the barber's wife, when mother and child are bathed, all the family clothes washed, the house plastered, and the earthen vessels replaced. The mother then cooks for the family, and is pure. Her husband does not cohabit with her again for two months after her confinement.

Puberty ceremony.

6. The ceremony which marks the reception of the child into caste after which he or she must conform to tribal rules of eating and drinking is the ear-boring, which is done in the fifth or sixth year. The occasion is marked by the use of choice food.

7. Marriage is conducted with some pretence of observing the orthodox Hindu ritual. The girl's father commences the negotiations, and when the question of prohibited degrees is settled, then comes what corresponds to the Hindu *tilak*, which is called "the day for drinking water" (*pánî pínê kâ din*). The bride's father visits the house of the bridegroom, and sitting on a square (*chauk*) in the court-yard, eats curds and treacle, which settles the match. All present are then feasted. Five days before the wedding day the ceremony of "the lucky earth" (*matmangara*) is done in both families in the usual way. The drum of the Chamâr, who leads the procession, is worshipped, marked with red lead and oil, and on it are placed some betel nuts and a quarter *ser* of poppy-seed, which are the Chamâr's perquisite. The earth is dug by some old female relative, who brings it home and places it in the marriage shed (*mânro*), in the centre of which is a ploughshare (*karis*), and a water jar (*kalsa*). After this commences the anointing of the bride and bridegroom with oil and turmeric, which is started by the Pandit sprinkling it over them five times with a bunch of *dûb* grass. The anointing should, if possible, be done by five unmarried girls. A day previous to the wedding is the *bhatwân*, when the clansmen are feasted. As the procession starts the boy's mother waves (*parachhan karna*) over his head a rice pounder (*mûsar*), or a water jar (*kalsa*), for good luck. When the procession arrives at the bride's house the women of the neighbourhood receive them with a shower of rice. The bridegroom then worships Gauri and Ganesa; and the bride meanwhile bathes and puts on the clothes which the father of her future husband sends her. She then retires into an inner room, into which the bridegroom forces his way after a mimic struggle, a survival of marriage by capture, and brings her under the shed, where her father washes the feet of the bridegroom. He then marks the ploughshare with red lead, while the Pandit recites texts (*mantra*), and the father taking some *kusa* grass in his hand solemnly makes over his daughter to her husband. Then follow the usual five perambulations round the ploughshare, while at each revolution the bride's brother pours parched rice into a winnowing fan (*sûp*) held by the bridegroom,

who scatters it on the ground. Bride and bridegroom then go into the retiring room (*kohabar*), where the women play jokes on the bridegroom, and he seizes the garment of his mother-in-law and refuses to release her till she gives him a present. The wedding feast follows, and the bridegroom takes his bride home next day, after his father has first shaken one of the poles of the marriage shed, for which he receives a present (*mânro hilâi*) from the bride's father. This done, the friends embrace all round and the procession starts for home. Four days after the wedding festoons (*bandanwâr*), and the water jug (*kalsa*), are taken to a neighbouring stream. The festoons are thrown into the water by the married pair, and the jar is filled with water, which is used by the bridegroom in plastering a place in front of the shrine of the local gods (*dih*), where he offers a fire offering (*hom*) with treacle and butter.

Death ceremonies.

8. The dead are cremated in the usual way. After the burning the relatives chew leaves of the bitter *nîm* tree, and then eat some treacle; next day the widow goes to a stream and washes the red lead out of the parting of her hair. Poorer people merely throw the body into a stream (*prabâh*), and young children are buried. For persons who die at a distance they do the *nârâyani bal*. They make an image of wheat flour, with a cocoanut representing his head; seeds of safflower (*kusum*) represent the nails and teeth; the hair of a blanket represents the hairs on the body; cowries for the eyes; some ground drug the blood, birch bark (*bhojpâtra*) for the skin. These are covered with three hundred and sixty *palâsa* leaves, and all is burnt. On the third day they shave and are pure. The Mahâpâtra is dismissed on the eleventh day, and on the twelfth the soul is admitted to the company of the sainted dead. In the case of a person dying at home, on the tenth day the chief mourner offers the balls (*pinda*), ten in number, in honour of the dead, and daily, during the period of death pollution, lays out a platter (*dauna*) filled with food along the road by which the corpse was taken to the burning ground. On the tenth day the ceremony of pouring water (*tarpan*) on the ground in honour of the sun is done, and the clothes of the deceased, with his other personal effects, are given to the Mahâbrâhman, who passes them on for his use in the world of the dead. The funeral feast is known as *dûdh ka bhât*, because on this occasion milk is mixed with the pulse, and the rice is eaten unwashed. It is only on this occasion that milk is ever cooked with pulse. The Mirzapur

Binds perform a ceremony of propitiation for the dead at the village of Râmgaya, near Bindhâchal, in the month of Kuâr.

Religion.

9. Binds more or less follow the Brâhmanical ritual, while the esoteric doctrine, on which the whole body of symbolism depends, is entirely unknown to the votaries of the popular religion.[1] In Mirzapur their favourite deity is Mâhadeva, and they make annual pilgrimages to Baijnâth (Baidyanâth), in Shahâbâd, where they pour Ganges water over the *lingam*. Members of the Maiwarha sept act as special priests of the Pânchonpîr. These five saints and the local deities (*dih*) are generally worshipped. On the eighth day of the dark half of Kuâr, the Jiutiya, women fast. Those who belong to Nârâyaniha sub-division worship at Mau at the Sivarâtri in the month of Phâlgun, Mahâdeva, Pârvati, Mahâbîr and Satya Nârâyan or Vishnu, with offerings of cakes. Their priests are a class of low Brâhmans of Sikari, in Mirzapur. "The patron deity (*kuladevata*) of all Binds is Kâshi Bâba, about whom the following story is told:— A mysterious epidemic was carrying off the herds on the banks of the Ganges, and the ordinary expiatory sacrifices were ineffectual. One evening a clownish Ahîr, on going to the river, saw a figure rinsing its mouth from time to time, and making an unearthly sound with a conch shell. The lout, concluding that this must be the demon causing the epidemic, crept up and clubbed the unsuspecting bather. Kâshi Nâth was the name of the murdered Brâhman, and as the cessation of the murrain coincided with his death, the low Hindustâni castes have ever since regarded Kâshi Bâba as the maleficent spirit that sends disease among their cattle. Now-a-days he is propitiated by the following curious ceremony. As soon as an infectious disease breaks out, the village cattle are massed together, and cotton seed scattered over them. The fattest and sleekest animal being singled out, is severely beaten with rods. The herd, scared by the noise, scamper off to the nearest shelter, followed by the scape bull, and by this means it is thought the murrain is stayed. In ordinary times the Binds worship Kâshi Bâba in a simpler fashion, each man in his own house, by presenting flowers, perfumes and sweetmeats. The latter, after having done duty before the god, are eaten by the votary. Kâshi Bâba, no doubt, was an actual person, who came by his end, if not exactly

[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I, 132.

as told in the legend, at least in some tragic fashion, which led to his being elevated to the rank of a god. In some of the other objects of the rural worship we may, perhaps, see survivals of the primitive animism which formed the religion of the aborigines of India before their insensible conversion to Brâhmanism. Some of the tribal deities were, as we know, promoted to seats in the Hindu pantheon: others, whose position was less prominent and whose hold on the mind of the people was weaker, got thrust into the background as patrons of various rural events."[1]

Festivals.

10. In Mirzapur the Bind festivals are the Pachainiyân, Tîj, and Kajari. The last is the women's saturnalia in the rainy season, when women get drunk, dance, sing obscene songs, and indulge in rude debauchery, which on this occasion only is condoned by their husbands.

Social rules.

11. They believe in the usual omens and demonology, and practice sorcery through the Ojha. The women wear palm leaf ornaments (*tarki*) in the ears, nose-rings, wristlets (*dharkauwa*), anklets (*pairi*). They tattoo themselves on the breast and arms, and it is believed that if they do not come into the next world with these marks, Bhagwân will pitch them out of heaven. They give children two names, one fixed by the Pandit, and the other selected by the parents. They will not touch a Chamâr, Dom, or Dharkâr, nor the wife of the younger brother, nor the mother-in-law of their children. They will not mention by name the dead, nor their wives, nor their religious preceptors (*guru*). After the close of the agricultural year they worship Hariyâri Devi, "the goddess of greenness," with an offering of sweetmeats. In Bihâr the Binds eat crocodiles and field rats like the Musahars, and are very fond of pork when they can get it.[2] In Mirzapur they certainly eat field rats, but not the crocodile, at least publicly; and they pretend to have given up pork and fowls. They now do not eat beef, and rank higher in the social scale than Chamârs for this reason. They use fish largely except in the fortnight (*pitri paksha*) sacred to the dead in the month of Kuâr. They are certainly higher in the social grade than the Binds of Bihâr, as described by Mr. Risley, and it appears that even Brâhmans and Chhatris will drink water from their hands. They

[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 133, and see *Bhar*, 9.
[2] Risley, *loc. cit.* I., 133.

will not eat food cooked in water (*kachchi*) except from Brâhmans. According to another account they will not eat *kachchi* or *pakki* cooked by any other caste but their own. They salute in the *pâélagi* form, and receive in return the blessing (*asîs*) from strangers. They salute the father-in-law of their sons or daughters in the form *Râm ! Râm !* Women are fairly well treated, but hard worked. When a stranger comes into the house the wife falls on his feet and gives him tobacco. This is known as *bhentna*.

Occupation.

12. Some are non-occupancy tenants; many are hired ploughmen (*halwâha*). The usual wages are two and-a-half *sers* of grain in the local weight *per diem*, and a special ration (*sîdha*) on holidays. They work, as in Bihâr, at fishing, well sinking, building mud walls, mat and basket-making, preparing saltpetre, doing earthwork on tanks and roads, watching fields and villages. But in some places they have an indifferent reputation, particularly in Gorakhpur.[1]

Distribution of Binds according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Sub-castes.			Total.
	Jethwant.	Kâsip-gotra.	Others.	
Mathura	...	...	24	24
Hamîrpur	...	...	1	1
Allahâbâd	...	...	25	25
Benares	...	...	12,499	12,499
Mirzapur	...	...	10,807	10,807
Ghâzipur	2,242	53	30,178	32,473
Ballia	5,910	30	465	6,405
Gorakhpur	10,317	957	2,767	14,041
Basti	...	...	552	552
Azamgarh	...	...	8	8
Lucknow	...	...	13	13

[1] *Report, Inspector-General of Police, North-Western Provinces*, 1868, page 51.

Distribution of Binds according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Sub-castes.			Total.
	Jethwant.	Kâsip-gotra.	Others.	
Faizâbâd	...	...	1	1
Sultânpur	...	...	137	137
Total .	18,469	1,040	57,477	76,986

Bisâti—(*Bisât* "goods spread out for sale; Sanskrit, *visrita* "extended").—A small pedlar, hawker, or huckster, who sells petty goods of European manufacture, such as needles and pins, tape, buttons, stationery, hardware, etc. They are a purely occupational caste, and nearly all Muhammadans. According to the Census Returns they have a curious list of sectional names—Banjâra, Mughal, Râjput, and Shaikh. The Bisâti sells much the same class of goods as the Boxwâla ("the man of the box"), who hawks small ware at European houses.

Distribution of the Bisâtis according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindus.	Muham-madans.	Total.
Sahâranpur	7	233	240
Muzaffarnagar	...	33	33
Meerut	34	134	168
Bulandshahr	...	3	3
Aligarh	...	6	6
Mathura	...	7	7
Agra	...	11	11
Farrukhâbâd	...	11	11
Mainpuri	...	6	6
Bareilly	...	1	1

Distribution of the Bisâtis according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Hindu.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Bijnor	...	54	54
Budâun	...	37	37
Morâdâbâd	66	26	92
Shâhjahânpur	...	2	2
Pilibhît	...	17	17
Cawnpur	...	7	7
Fatehpur	...	6	6
Hamîrpur	...	10	10
Allahâbâd	...	10	10
Jâlaun	...	32	32
Ballia	...	29	29
Gorakhpur	...	6	6
Tarâi	...	112	112
Lucknow	...	1	1
Râê Bareli	...	17	17
Sîtapur	...	1	1
Sultânpur	...	13	13
Bârabanki	...	27	27
Total .	107	852	959

Bisen.—A powerful sept of Râjputs found in considerable numbers in the Allahâbâd, Benares, Gorakhpur, and Faizâbâd Divisions. The head of the sept is the Râja of Majhauli, in Pargana Salempur Majhauli, of Gorakhpur. They as well as the Donwâr (*q. v.*) claim descent from one Mayûra Bhatta, who is said to have been a descendant of Jamadagni Rishi of the race of Bhrigu. Regarding this personage the local tradition is very vague. Some say he came from Hastinapur and was the son of one Aswathâma; others that he was an emigrant from Mahâ-

râshtra or the Marhatta country. He read Sanskrit for a while at Benares, and became a proficient in astrology. Quitting that city at last under a divine impulse he settled at Kakradih, a village in Pargana Sikandarpur, of Azamgarh. The whole of that Pargana came gradually under his authority. His domestic arrangements illustrate a period when the bonds of caste, as we know them, were unknown. He is said to have had three wives,— first a Brâhmani named Nâgseni; the second Sûrajprabha, a Sûrajbans Râjputni; the third Haikumâri, a Gautam Bhuînhârin. By his wife Sûrajprabha he had a son, Biswa or Bissu Sen, who was the ancestor of the Bisen sept of Chhatris; by Haikumâri, Balkal or Bagmar Sahi, the ancestor of the Bhuînhâr families of Kuwâri and Tamkûhi; by Nâgsen, Nages, Nagesar or Nâgsen; and by a Kurmin concubine Indradawwan Mal, from whom sprang the Mals of Azamgarh, of whom a separate account will be given. He expelled the Bhars, and finally went on a pilgrimage to the Himâlaya, where he died. There are thus a family of Misr Brâhmans, and a large half Kurmi clan which claim common descent with the Majhauli Bisen family.

The Gonda branch.

2. "In the reign of Akbar and with the fall of the Kalhans rule, the Bisens, who subsequently, under the Râjas of Gonda, took a leading position among the trans-Ghâgra powers appear for the first time on the stage of history. The clan is one of the most numerous in Eastern Oudh, and is scattered in clusters of small Zamîndâri communities throughout the Districts of Gonda, Faizâbâd, and Partâbgarh, with the river Kuâno for its northern and the Ganges for its southern limit. Its principal seat is beyond the boundaries of Oudh at Majhauli, in Gorakhpur, and its members differ from those of many of the other ruling clans in having no recollection of a departure from some distant home in the West, and being unable to connect their countless houses by any intelligible pedigree. They admit that they are Bhûmiya Thâkurs, or indigenous, as far as they can ascertain, in their present territory. It is true that they assert their descent from a common ancestor, Mayûra Rishi; and in thus deriving themselves from a mythical religious character outside the distinctions of caste, agree with others of the less aristocratic among the local Chhatri families who are unable to claim any connection with the heroes of the Solar and Lunar races. The ties of common clanship are very vaguely recognised, and I believe

that the Bisen of Majhauli has always declined to confirm them by eating with even the great homonymous chieftains of Gonda and Râmpur, in Faizâbâd. Those settled in Oudh were all of them before the time of Akbar in the position of ordinary village zamîndârs, dividing their inheritance among all the males on the ordinary coparcenary principles, and it was not till later that the title and position of Râja were acquired by a few fortunate houses to the extreme north and extreme south of their settlements. At the centre, in Faizâbâd, they always remained in a subordinate position."[1]

The Partâbgarh branch.

3. Of the Faizâbâd branch Mr. Carnegy writes :— "What their claim may be to being placed under the Sombansi line is not clear. Their avowed chief is the Râja of Majhauli, in Gorakhpur. In Oudh we have no less than thirteen chiefs of this clan, and their colonies are principally to be found in the Partâbgarh District, but also in Bahrâich, Gonda, Daryâbâd, and Sultânpur. The local heads are the Râja of Kâlakânkar, and the Râjas of Manikpur and Bhinga. Sir H. M. Elliot affirms that the present Râja of Majhauli is in the one hundred and fifteenth generation from Mayûra Bhatta, the devotee. The Oudh branch state that they broke off from the parent stem in the person of Râê Hûm, and settled in the Province under the wing of Mânik Chand, the then powerful Gaharwâr Râja of Manikpur, he who so happily picked up the foundling mother of all the Kânhpuriya clan. Within the last few years the Râja of Majhauli took to himself a wife from the Râjkumâr house of Dera,— a sure indication that the Bisens (indigenous devotee Chhatris of Gorakhpur though they be) are higher in the social scale than the Râjkumâr offshoot of the Mainpuri ex-convert Chauhâns."

The Gorakhpur branch.

4. From Gorakhpur it is now reported that they intermarry with the septs of the Sirnet, Hayobans, Baghel, Chauhân, Chandel, Gaharwâr, Sûrajbansi, Râjkumar, Chandrabansi, Sombansi, Gautam, Kausik, Gandhwariya, Hâra, Kachhwâha, Râna, Nâgbansi and Jâdon. In Jaunpur they take brides from the Bais, Nikumbh, Chaupat Khambh, and Kharagbâns, and give girls to the Nikumbh, Raghubansi, Bachgoti, Râjkumâr, and Sombansi. In Gonda they are reported to give brides to the Sirnet, Raikwâr, Janwâr, Chauhân,

[1] *Gonda Settlement Report*, 15.

Kalhans, Bhadauriya, and Kachhwâha, while they receive girls from the Bandhalgoti, Râjkumâr, Palwâr, Sûrajbans, Bais, Chauhân, Kalhans, and other high class Râjputs.

Distribution of the Bisen Râjputs by the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Sahâranpur	4	3	7
Meerut	1	...	1
Mathura	7	...	7
Agra	6	...	6
Farrukhâbâd	2	...	2
Etah	...	5	5
Etâwah	17	...	17
Budâun	34	...	34
Morâdâbâd	31	...	31
Shâhjahânpur	1	8	9
Pilibhît	1	...	1
Cawnpur	348	...	348
Fatehpur	1,070	...	1,070
Bânda	815	8	823
Hamîrpur	199	...	199
Allahâbâd	7,809	25	7,834
Benares	3,363	...	3,363
Mirzapur	3,374	...	3,374
Jaunpur	4,356	49	4,405
Ghâzipur	2,486	2	2,488
Ballia	5,558	...	5,558
Gorakhpur	9,623	207	9,830
Basti	959	2,308	3,267

Distribution of the Bisen Râjputs by the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Azamgarh	8,864	1,096	9,960
Lucknow	368	36	404
Unâo	1,102	22	1,124
Râê Bareli	925	158	1,083
Sîtapur	481	1,028	1,509
Hardoi	74	...	74
Kheri	275	1,001	1,276
Faizâbâd	7,212	1,272	8,484
Gonda	27,697	...	27,697
Bahrâich	1,611	1,301	2,912
Sultânpur	1,586	658	2,244
Partâbgarh	4,778	...	4,778
Bârabanki	2,455	640	3,095
Total .	97,492	9,827	107,319

Bishnoi—(worshippers of Vishnu).—Usually, as at the last Census, classed as a sub-tribe of Banyas, but really a distinct religious sect. They are strongest in the Meerut and Rohilkhand Divisions, and as they are emigrants from the Panjâb, Mr. Maclagan's interesting account[1] of them may be quoted:—"The founder of the sect was Jhâmbaji, who lived towards the end of the fifteenth Century. The following is the account given by the people regarding him. At Pinpâsar, a village south of Bikâner, in the Jodhpur territory, there lived a Râjput Panwâr, named Laut, who had attained the age of sixty years and had no son. One day a neighbour going out to sow his field met Laut, and deeming it a bad omen to meet a childless man, turned back from his purpose. This cut Laut to the quick, and he went out to the jungle and

[1] *Panjâb Census Report*, 1891, page 139, *sqq.*, quoting *Sirsa Settlement Report*, 136.

bewailed his childlessness till evening, when a faqîr appeared to him and told him that in nine months he should have a son, and after showing his miraculous power by drawing milk from a calf, vanished from his sight. At the time named a child miraculously appeared in Laut's house, and was miraculously suckled by his wife Hansa. This happened in Sambat 1508 (A.D. 1451). For seven years the boy, who was an incarnation (*avatâra*) of Vishnu, played with his fellows, and then for twenty-seven years he tended cattle, but all this time he spoke no word. His miraculous powers were shown in various ways, such as producing sweets from nothing for the delectation of his companions, and he became gradually known as Achamba ("the Wonder"), whence his name of Jhâmba, by which he is generally known. After thirty-four years a Brâhman was sent for to get him to speak, and on confessing his failure, Jhâmbaji again showed his power by lighting a lamp by simply snapping his fingers, and uttered his first word. He then adopted the life of a teacher, and went to reside on a sandhill, some thirty miles south of Bikâner, where, after fifty-one years, he died and was buried, instead of being burnt like an ordinary Hindu.

Legend of Jhâmbaji.

2. "Another account of Jhâmbaji says that when a lad of five years old he used to take his father's herds to water at the well, and had for each head of cattle a peculiar whistle: the cows and bullocks would come one by one to the well, drink, and go away. One day a man named Udaji happened to witness this scene, and struck with astonishment, attempted to follow the boy when he left the well. He was on horseback and the boy on foot, but gallop as fast as he would he could not keep up with the walking pace of the boy. At last in amazement he dismounted and threw himself at his feet; the boy at once welcomed him by name, though he then saw him for the first time. The bewildered Udaji exclaimed,—"Jhâmbaji!" (omniscient), and henceforth the boy was known by this name. On attaining manhood Jhâmbaji left his home, and becoming a faqîr or religious mendicant, is said to have remained sitting on a sandhill called Samrathal in Bikâner for a space of fifty-one years. In 1485 A.D. a fearful famine desolated the country, and Jhâmbaji gained an enormous number of disciples by providing food for all who would declare their belief in him. He is said to have died on his sandhill at the good old age of eighty-four, and to have been buried at a spot about a mile distant from it. A further account says that his body

remained suspended for six months in the bier without decomposing.

3. "The name Bishnoi is, of course, connected with that of Vishnu, the deity to whom the Bishnois give most prominence in their creed, though they sometimes derive it from the twenty-nine (*bís-nau*) articles of faith inculcated by their founder. In fact, in our returns it was very difficult to distinguish the Bishnoi from the Vaishnava, who was often entered as a Baishnav or Bishno. The Bishnois sometimes call themselves Prahlâdbansi, or Prahlâdpanthi, on the ground that it was to please Prahlâda Bhagat that Vishnu become incarnate in the person of Jhâmbaji. The legend is that thirty-three crores of beings were killed by the wicked Hiranya-kasipu, and when Vishnu, as the Narasinha Avatâra, saved the life of Prahlâda and asked Prahlâda his dearest wish, the latter requested that Vishnu would effect the salvation (*mukti*) of the remaining twenty-eight crores. To do this required a further incarnation, and Jhâmbaji was the result."

The name of the sect.

4. "Regarding the doctrines of the sect Mr. J. Wilson writes:— 'The sayings (*shabd*) of Jhâmbaji to the number of one hundred and twenty were written down by his disciples, and have been handed down in a book (*pothi*) which is written in the Nâgari character, and in a Hindu dialect, similar to Bâgri, seemingly a Mârwâri dialect. The 'twenty-nine' precepts given by him for the guidance of his followers are as follows:—

Tenets of the Bishnois.

Tís din sútak pánch roz ratwanti nári,
Sera karo shnán sil santokh suchh pyári.
Páni báni ídhni itna líjo chhán.
Daya dharm hirdé dharo guru batái ján.
Chori nindya júth barjya bád na kariyo koé.
Amal tamáku bhang lil dúr hi tyágo.
Mad más se dekh ke dúr hi bhágo.
Amar rakháo thát bail tani na báho.
Amáshya barat rúnkh lílo na ghão.
Hom, jap samádh púja básh baikunthi páo.
Untís dharm ki ákhri guru batái soé,
Páhul doé par chávya jis ko nám Bishnoi hoé.

Which is thus interpreted: 'For thirty days after child-birth and five days after a menstrual discharge a woman must not cook food.

Bathe in the morning. Commit not adultery. Be content. Be abstemious and pure. Strain your drinking water. Be careful of your speech. Examine your fuel in case any living creature be burnt with it. Show pity to living creatures. Keep duty present to your mind as the Teacher bade. Do not steal. Do not speak evil of others. Do not tell lies. Never quarrel. Avoid opium, tobacco, *bhang*, and blue clothing. Flee from spirits and flesh. See that your goats are kept alive (not sold to Musalmâns, who will kill them for food). Do not plough with bullocks. Keep a fast on the day before the new moon. Do not cut green trees. Sacrifice with fire. Say prayers. Meditate. Perform worship and attain heaven. And the last of the twenty-nine duties prescribed by the Teacher—'Baptize your children, if you would be called a true Bishnoi.'"

Social life.

5. "Some of these precepts are not strictly obeyed; for instance, though ordinarily they allow no blue in their clothing, yet a Bishnoi, if he is a servant of the British Government, is allowed to wear a blue uniform; and Bishnois do use bullocks, though most of their farming is done with camels. They also seem to be unusually quarrelsome (in words) and given to use bad language. But they abstain from tobacco, drugs, and spirits, and are noted for their regard for animal life, which is such that not only will they not themselves kill any living creature, but they do their utmost to prevent others from doing so. Consequently their villages are generally swarming with antelope and other animals, and they forbid their Musalmân neighbours to kill them, and try to dissuade European sportsmen from interfering with them. They wanted to make it a condition of their settlement that no one should be allowed to shoot on their land, but at the same time they asked that they might be assessed at lower rates than their neighbours on the ground that the antelope being thus left undisturbed do more damage to their crops; but I told them that this would lessen the merit (*pun*) of their good actions in protecting the animals, and they must be treated just as the surrounding villages were. They consider it a good deed to scatter grain to pigeons and other birds, and often have a large number of half-tame birds about their villages. The day before the new moon they observe as a Sabbath and fast-day, doing no work in the fields or in the house. They bathe and pray three times a day, in the morning, afternoon, and in the evening, saying *Bishno! Bishno!* instead of the ordinary Hindu *Râm! Râm!*

Their clothing is the same as of other Bâgris, except that their women do not allow the waist to be seen, and are fond of wearing black woollen clothing. They are more particular about ceremonial purity than ordinary Hindus are, and it is a common saying that if a Bishnoi's food is on the first of a string of twenty camels and a man of another caste touches the last camel of the string, the Bishnoi would consider his food defiled and throw it away.

Ceremony of initiation.

6. "A number of representative Bishnois assemble, and before them a Sâdh or Bishnoi priest, after lighting a sacrificial fire (*hom*), instructs the novice in the duties of the faith. He then takes some water in a new earthen vessel, over which he prays in a set form (*Bishno gâyatri*), stirring it the while with his string of beads (*mâla*), and after asking the consent of the assembled Bishnois he pours the water three times into the hands of the novice, who drinks it off. The novice's scalp-lock (*choti*) is then cut off and his head shaved, for the Bishnois shave the whole head and do not leave a scalp-lock like the Hindus; but they allow the beard to grow, only shaving the chin on the father's death. Infant baptism is also practised, and thirty days after birth, the child, whether boy or girl, is baptized by the priest (*Sâdh*) in much the same way as an adult; only the set form of prayer is different (*garbh gâyatri*), and the priest pours a few drops of water into the child's mouth, and gives the child's relatives each three handfuls of the consecrated water to drink; at the same time the barber clips off the child's hair. The baptismal ceremony has the effect of purifying the house, which has been made impure by the birth (*sûtak*).

Customs of the Bishnois.

7. "The Bishnois intermarry among themselves only, and by a ceremony of their own, in which it seems the circumambulation of the sacred fire, which is the binding ceremony among the Hindus generally, is omitted. They do not revere Brâhmans, but have priests (*Sâdh*) of their own chosen from among the laity. They do not burn their dead, but bury them below the cattle-stall or in a place frequented by cattle, such as a cattle pen. They observe the Holi in a different way from other Hindus. After sunset, on that day, they fast till the next forenoon, when, after hearing read the account of how Prahlâda was tortured by his infidel father, Hiranya Kasipu, for believing in the god Vishnu, until he was delivered by the god himself in his incarnation of the Lion-Man (*Nara-Sinha*), and

mourning over Prahlâda's sufferings, they light a sacrificial fire and partake of consecrated water, and after distributing unpurified sugar (*gur*) in commemoration of Prahlâda's delivery from the fire into which he was thrown, they break their fast.

"Bishnois go on pilgrimage where Jhâmbaji is buried, south of Bikâner, where there is a tomb (*math*) over his remains, and a temple (*mandir*) with regular attendants (*pujâri*). A festival takes place here every six months in Asauj and Phâlgun, when the pilgrims go to the sandhill on which Jhâmbaji lived, and there light sacrificial fires (*hom*) of *jandi* wood in vessels of stone, and offer a burnt offering of barley, sesamum (*til*), butter, and sugar, at the same time muttering set prayers. They also make presents to the attendants of the temple, and distribute grain for the peacocks and pigeons, which live there in numbers. Should any one have committed an offence, such as having killed an animal, or sold a cow or goat to a Musalmân, or allowed an animal to be killed when he could have prevented it, he is fined by the assembled Bishnois for the good of the temple, and the animals kept there. Another place of pilgrimage is a tomb called Chhambola, in the Jodhpur country, where a festival is held every year in Chait. There the pilgrims bathe in the tank and help to deepen it, and sing and play musical instruments and scatter grain to peacocks and pigeons. The Bishnois look with special attention to the fire sacrifice (*hom*); it is only the rich who perform this daily; the poor meet together to carry out the rite on the Amâwas day only. The Gâenas or Sâdhs, who are their priests and are fed by them like Brâhmans, are a hereditary class and do not intermarry with other Bishnois; nor do they take offerings from any but Bishnois. The Bishnois are a regular caste and have been shown as such in our tables; and the returns of the caste are much more to be relied on than those of the sect, for the reason given above that many Bishnois by sect must have been shown in our tables as Vaishnavas, and *vice versâ*.

Organization.

8. "It is said that a member of any of the higher Hindu castes may become a Bishnoi; but as a matter of fact they are almost entirely Jâts or carpenters (*Khâti*), or less frequently, Râjputs or Banyas, and the Banya Bishnois are apparently not found in the Panjâb, their chief seat being Morâdâbâd, in the North-West Provinces. The man who becomes a Bishnoi is still bound by his caste restrictions; he no

longer calls himself a Jât, but he can marry only Jât Bishnois, or he is no longer a Khâti, and yet cannot marry any one who is not a Khâti; and further than this the Bishnoi retains the *gotra* of his original tribe and may not marry within this. *Karewa* is practised among them, but an elder brother cannot marry a younger brother's widow.

Connection with Vaishnavism.

9. "There is not perhaps very much in the teaching of Jhâmbaji to distinguish him from the orthodox pattern of Hindu saints, and in some points his doctrine, more especially with regard to the preservation of life, is only an intensification ofthe ordinary Vaishnava tenets. But in the omission of the circumambulation (*phera*) at marriage, the cutting off of the scalp-lock, the special ceremony of initiation, and the disregard for the Brâhmanical priesthood, we find indications of the same spirit as that which moved the other Hindu reformers of the period."

The Bishnois of the North-Western Provinces.

10. Mahant Âtma Râm, known as Mahârâj or Mahant, the present leader of the Morâdâbâd Bishnois, gives an account of them which, as far as the legends connected with Jhâmbaji, agrees exactly with the Panjâb legend. He names nine endogamous sub-divisions of them—Jât; Bishnoi; Banya Bishnoi; Brâhman Bishnoi; Ahîr Bishnoi; Sunâr Bishnoi; Nâi Bishnoi; Chauhân Bishnoi, Bayhar Bishnoi. The rule of exogamy is that they do not intermarry in their own *gotra* or in that of their relatives as long as any tie of relationship is remembered.

Customs.

11. The Morâdâbâd branch settled there when the District was in the hands of the Nawâb Wazîr of Oudh, about one hundred and fifty years ago. They do not admit outsiders except into their special sub-division as given above. Polygamy is allowed; polyandry repudiated. The marriage ceremonies are performed in the orthodox Hindu fashion. Widows can re-marry by the *sagâi* form. Besides the special worship of Jhâmbaji, they have, now following the example of their Hindu neighbours, adopted also the worship of Siva and Bhawâni. When a child is born the mother is secluded for forty days, when the Mahant sends one of his disciples who makes her throw some butter into the fire. This ceremony, is known as *basandar chhûna* or "fire touching." When a man dies the nearest male relative of the deceased draws water from the well in an unused earthen vessel, and places it at the door of the house with the opening at the top covered with a piece of new cloth. Upon this are placed some cakes (*pûri*). Just as the

sun is setting some of the clansmen assemble, and each takes a handful of water and pours it on the ground in the name of the dead man. This is repeated on the third, tenth, twentieth, and fortieth day, and after three, six, and twelve months. The corpse is thrown into the Ganges with a pitcher full of sand tied round the neck. They perform the *srâddha* in honour of the sainted dead in the month of Kuâr, as ordinary Hindus do. Those who die without issue have the *srâddha* performed by other relations, and on this occasion clothes, etc., are given to Brâhmans. They will eat from the hands of none but their own clansmen.

Social life.

12. They strictly abstain from spirits, meat, and tobacco. Wherever they are numerous they erect by subscription a shed which is known as a Vishnu temple (*Vishnu mandir*). There they assemble on the fifteenth of every Hindu month, and the songs of Jhâmbaji are chanted by the Mahant or some other Sâdh or priest. This meeting is known as *jumala*. In the months of Kuâr and Chait they assemble in large numbers and offer sweetmeats and money. Part of the offerings is taken by the Mahant and the rest is divided among the worshippers present. The Mahant and his Sâdhs practise celibacy. The Bishnois of Bijnor appear to differ from those of the Panjâb in using the Musalmân form of salutation, *salâm alaikum*, and the title of Shaikhji. They account for this by saying that they murdered a Muhammadan Qâzi who prevented them from burning a widow and were glad to compound the offence by pretending to adopt Islâm.

Distribution of Bishnoi Banyas[1] *according to the Census of 1891.*

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	58	Morâdâbâd . . .	2,748
Muzaffarnagar . . .	902	Cawnpur . . .	7
Meerut	255	Bânda	5
Bijnor	1,626		
		Total .	5,601

[1] The sect recorded as Bishnoi numbers 49,559, mostly found in the Bijnor District.

Biyâr, Biâr.—A tribe of labourers and cultivators in the Eastern Districts.

Origin and characteristics of the tribes.

1. The word Biâr means "a seed-bed," and it is suggested that this may be the origin of the name on account of their occupation, which is principally rice cultivation and the construction of tanks and embankments. They may possibly be of aboriginal origin, but the tribe appears to be very mixed, and while they have to a great extent lost the broad nose characteristic of the pure Dravidian races, like the Majhwârs or Korwas, they are not noticeably different in appearance from the Chamârs and other menial Hindu castes which surround them. They may perhaps be connected with the Bhoyars of Betul, "who are said to have come originally from Upper India: they are hard-working and industrious cultivators, thoroughly alive to the advantages of irrigation, and generally expending much labour and capital in the sinking of wells."[1] The idea which at one time prevailed that they were in some way connected with the great Bhar race seems groundless. They consider themselves autochthones of Pargana Barhar, in Mirzapur, and have no traditions of emigration. They are slight, dark, wiry men, noted for their skill in earth-work, and habitually employed on excavations of all kinds: a quiet, rather depressed race, occasionally addicted to petty theft. In Mirzapur they have now formed themselves into two endogamous divisions, the Barhariya, who take their name from Pargana Barhar, north of the river Son, and the Dakkhinâha or "Southerners," who live south of the river. Those north of the Son have begun to imitate Hindus so far as to start one sub-division or sept (*Kuri*), the Chamanawa or Chandanawa, who say they are descended from the *chandan* or sandal tree, and to this is attached one *gotra*, that of Kâsip. These sub-divisions, however, do not restrict marriage, the rules of exogamy within the two endogamous sub-divisions being of a very elementary kind. They say that when a girl is married into a family they do not permit another alliance with that family for at least three generations. Others say that only the family of the mother's brother (*mâmu*) and the father's sister's husband (*phûpha*) are barred. The tendency, however, seems to be to extend the restriction to the orthodox limit fixed in many of these tribes and to include the family of the father's brother

[1] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 48.

(*chacha*) and the maternal aunt (*mâosi*). Other members of the caste, however, name seven septs,—Kanaujiya, Sarwâr, Barwâr, Mahto, Kahto, Kâshi, and Barhar. These are exogamous, and hypergamy is said to prevail to this extent that the Kanaujiya intermarry only with the Barwâr, Sarwâr and Mahto. Three of these are purely local sub-divisions, Kanaujiya (from Kanauj), Kâshi (from Benares), Barhar (from the pargana of that name in Mirzapur). The others are probably all occupational—Sarwâr "archer;" Barwâr, "carrier of loads;" Mahto, "leader;" Kahto, "spokesman."

Tribal organisation.

2. They have a caste council (*panchâyat*) which meets on occasions of marriages and funerals, and disposes of tribal business. The president (*Mukhiya*) is a hereditary officer, and he has an assistant known as Chaudhari. Offences against morality are punished by fine or castigation. The castigation is in the form of a shoe-beating, which is administered by two strong young men at the orders of the president. The fine takes the form of two or four days feeding of the clansmen. When the offender agrees to do this he is restored to caste privileges. If a man marries into a family already excommunicated he has to give a two days' feast of goat flesh and liquor to the clan. If a poor man pleads poverty, the fine is sometimes reduced, but if he disregards the sentence he is excommunicated for two, four, or even ten years. If the Mukhiya or Chaudhari is a minor, the council select some relative to act for him. The Chaudhari is always appointed by the council.

Rules of marriage.

3. Difference in wealth or social station is no bar to marriage. A man may marry as many wives as he can support. The senior wife is mistress of the house, is respected among the relations, and joins in the family worship. If a man marries a second time, and he or she annoy or ill-treat the first wife, the council interferes in her favour. As a matter of fact the senior wife generally selects the junior wives, and urges her husband to polygamy, as their labour saves her trouble. If there are more wives than one they live in separate huts in the same enclosure, but, as a rule, they get on well together and live in common. Concubinage, if the concubine (*rakhui*) is a member of the tribe, is permitted. The abhorrence with which they regard even the idea of polyandry is sufficient to show that it could never have been an institution of the tribe. Women have considerable

freedom both before and after marriage. If a woman is caught in an intrigue with a stranger to the tribe she is expelled. If her lover be a member of the tribe, the fathers of both have to feed the clansmen: but it is a peculiarity of this tribe that they will not allow the lovers to marry. The reason is because such cases give rise to a feud between the girl's family and that of her lover, which is usually so serious that a marriage alliance between them is out of the question. In such cases of incontinence the girl's father has to feed the tribesmen on *pakki rasoi*, that is to say, butter cakes (*pûri*) and goat's flesh, and the next day on *kachchi rasoi*, that is, boiled rice and pulse (*dâl, bhât*). The tribal punishment for the lover used to be fifty stripes with a cane, but British law has put a stop to this, and he now gets fifty blows of a shoe. After the beating is over he has, in addition, to give the same feast as the girl's father.

Marriage and divorce.

4. The marriage age for boys and girls is from six to twelve. The headman arranges the match: the consent of the parents is essential, and the parties have no right of choice. The bride-price fixed by invariable custom is four rupees in cash, two cloths (*dhoti*), four *sers* coarse sugar (*gur*), and a little turmeric. No physical defect which appears in either party after marriage is sufficient to break the tie; but this is not the case if fraud is established against the parents of either party: and it is understood that a woman may refuse to live with her husband if he is unable to support her, or is impotent. A man can divorce his wife for adultery: in fact, if after adultery is established, a man does not discard his wife, he is punished by the council. But all separations must be by the sanction of the headman, and he will not give leave until he has enquired and heard evidence in the case. If a man marries a woman who has been divorced for adultery he is put out of caste. The sons of the senior wife are called *jethri* or superior: those of the second *lauhri* or inferior. These two sets of children succeed equally, while the children of a concubine have no rights, and receive only whatever their father may please to give them during his lifetime. If the concubine was a woman of the tribe, the children receive full caste rights and can be married in the tribe: not so, if the mother was of another tribe. Her children are called Biyâr after their father, but have no rights of marriage or commensality.

Widow marriage.

5. A man may take a widow to live with him without any ceremony. For a while the clansmen will not eat with him, but when he feeds them he is generally restored to caste on condition that he goes to bathe at Benares or Gaya. The levirate is allowed under the usual restriction that the younger brother can marry his elder brother's widow, and not *vice versâ*. If the levir abandon his claim to her she may marry an outsider. She takes with her only children at the breast; the others remain with her late husband's brother. Once she marries again she loses all rights in her husband's estate. Their uncle manages the property for his nephews, and they succeed when they come of age. So in the case of the levirate the mother manages the property for her sons by the first marriage. Her second family has no claim to share. There is no fiction by which the sons of the levir are attributed to the first husband.

Adoption.

6. Only a sonless man can adopt, and that only with the consent of his brethren and the council. A man usually adopts his brother's son, though occasionally the adoption of a daughter's son is allowed. A man may adopt if his only son is a permanent outcast. During the life of one adopted son a second cannot be adopted. Curiously enough a bachelor can adopt, but not a blind man, or a cripple, or an impotent man, or a Jogi, or a woman, except a widow following distinct instructions from her late husband given before witnesses. But in any case she can adopt only one of her husband's brother's sons. A man cannot give his only or eldest son or only brother in adoption. A boy once married cannot be adopted: nor can a girl be adopted: nor a sister's son: nor a daughter's son except in most exceptional circumstances. As a rule a son adopted by another loses all rights to his father's estate, but cases are quoted to the contrary. If he be his father's only son he inherits in both houses. If a natural son be born after adoption he and the adopted son share equally.

Beena marriage.

7. The custom of Beena marriage or *ghar-jaiyân* does not prevail.

Succession.

8. In all cases the sons of a man are his heirs. Primogeniture is so far observed that the eldest gets a tenth in excess of everything, and the children of the first or senior wife get something more than the others The shares go by the sons, not by the mothers. A man cannot select a special son in his lifetime to be heir in excess of the others. Even if one

son be better off than the others by self-acquired property, dowry, etc., he gets his usual share. Grandsons get their proportionate share in the inheritance of their fathers. If there are no sons the associated brothers inherit equally. The widow has a right to maintenance so long as she continue chaste: if she becomes unchaste her husband's brothers can expel her. A daughter has no rights, but it seems to be usual for the brothers to give her some of the family jewelry, etc., and if she is badly treated by her husband or his friends she has a right to come back to her original home and claim maintenance there. If a man die without a son or widow his associated brothers succeed. If a widow marries while pregnant, and a son is born, he will succeed to his real not to his step-father. If the widow on remarriage takes little children with her the step-father is bound to support them until they grow up and get them married. If a man become an ascetic his sons get his estate: but a remarkable rule prevails that in such case the sons get only the acquired property of their father, while the ancestral property goes to his brothers. Village and tribal offices such as that of *mahto* are ancestral: but if the eldest son of the deceased proves unfit, the duty is made over to one of his elder brothers.

Relationship.

9. Families in which sons are married or from which sons-in-law come are considered relations. There is nothing peculiar in the general system of relationship. They do not, as a rule, remember the names of ancestors beyond the grandfather.

Birth ceremonies.

10. When a woman is being delivered she sits on the ground facing east. She is attended by the Chamâin midwife, who cuts the cord with a sickle and buries it in the place where the child was born, lighting a fire on the spot, which is kept burning while the woman remains in seclusion. After birth the child is rubbed with a mixture of barley flour and oil. The first day the mother is fed on *halwa*, which is made of wheat flour, coarse sugar (*gur*), and ghi. After this she is given butter cakes (*púri*), but in poor families only rice and pulse. Every morning and evening she is given a mixture of *gur*, ghi, and turmeric, which is known as *kâra*. On the sixth day the Chamâin bathes mother and child, the Dhobi takes her clothes to the wash, the barber's wife cuts her finger and toe nails and colours her feet with lac dye (*mahâwar*). On that day the men of the family shave and put on clean clothes, and the woman's husband's sister (*nanad*)

cleans the delivery room (*saur*), for which she receives a present in cash, clothes, or jewelry. The wives of the barber and Dhobi get four annas each, and the Chamâin the same with her food for the days she has been in attendance. That evening the clanspeople, male and female, are fed. From that date the attendance of the Chamâin ceases. On the twelfth day (*barahi*) the mother bathes in warm water, and the barber's wife cuts her nails and those of all the other women of the family. From that time the mother is considered pure, and cooks for the family. On this day the old earthen vessels of the family are replaced. The couvade so far prevails that on the day the child is born the father does no work, and has to take the first sip of the draught given to his wife. The husband does not cohabit with his wife till the child is six months old, and is first fed on grain (*annaprâsana*).

Adoption ceremony.

11. No adoption is valid unless the adoptive father and the boy appear before the Mukhiya, Chaudhari and council and make mutual engagements.

Marriage ceremony.

12. There is nothing very remarkable about the marriage ceremony. The bride is selected by the boy's father and approved of by the Mahto. The boy's father then on a date (*lagan*) fixed by a Brâhman sends or takes to the bride's father a present which fixes the betrothal. This is known as *neg bharna*, and in some places consists of four rupees in cash, two *sers* turmeric, two *sers* oil, and two *sers* coarse sugar (*gur*); in others of one and-a-quarter *sers* turmeric, one and-a-quarter *sers* sugar, and one and-a-quarter *sers* of oil. The marriage pavilion (*mânro*) has the middle post of *siddh* wood (*Hardwickia binata*). It is erected by the sister or paternal aunt of the bride, who receives a small present for doing this. Five days before marriage the *mat-mangar* ceremony is performed in the usual way as described in the case of the Bhuiyas, except that the earth is dug by the father's sister's husband (*phúpha*) of the bride, and is brought home by five unmarried girls of the bride's sept, who make out of it a rude altar (*bedi*) in the marriage shed, on which is placed the lucky water jar (*kalsa*), and a rude representation of parrots (*suga*) sitting on a tree, which is made by the village carpenter out of the wood of the cotton-tree (*semal*). On this day the family priest (*purohit*) sprinkles the bride and bridegroom with a bunch of *dúb* grass soaked in turmeric and oil (*haldi charhâna*). This is done five times. Before the procession starts the bridegroom's mother does

the "waving" ceremony (*parachhan*), as described in connection with the Bhuiyârs. The bridegroom's procession is met by the bride's friends outside the village, and they embrace (*meli jholi*). On reaching the reception place (*janwânsa*) the bridegroom's father takes the wedding present (*charhauwa*) to the bride. This consists of some jewelry and a sheet for the girl and her mother. When the bridegroom arrives he and the bride are seated on leaf mats or stools in a square (*chauk*) made under the marriage shed: the bride's father washes the feet of the bridegroom, and her mother does the same for the bride. Then the hands of the pair are joined, and the bride's father pours water over them, while the Pandit[1] reads the *sanka'pa* or "verses of donation." They then walk five times round the parrot images and water jar, the girl's brother pouring a handful of parched rice (*lawa*) over them each time they pass; while some parched grain is thrown on the sacred fire (*hom*), which is kept burning in the shed. Then the pair sit down, and the bridegroom marks the right foot of the bride with red lead, and taking five pinches of it between the thumb and the first finger of his right hand rubs it in the parting of her hair. This is the binding portion of the ceremony. Then the wife of the bride's brother (*bhaujâi*) sprinkles some red lead (*sendur chhirakna*) over the bridegroom and gets a small present. She then escorts the pair into the retiring room (*kohabar*), the walls of which are marked with rude figures drawn in red clay (*geru*). Over these the bridegroom pours some oil, and has to submit to a good deal of coarse practical jokes from the female relations of the bride.[2] Next morning is the *khichari* or ceremony of *confarreatio*, when the bridegroom and bride eat together. After this is the *mânro hilâi* or "shaking of the marriage shed." The father of the bridegroom pulls up and pitches away one of the poles of the pavilion amid the shouts of his party. This may possibly be a survival of marriage by capture. On the bridegroom arriving at his house his sister, apparently with the same idea, blocks the door, and will not admit the bride until she gets a present. At the bridegroom's house the *kohabar* ceremony, as above described, is again performed. A day or two after this, on a day fixed by the Pandit, some woman of the family takes the wreaths of mango leaves (*bandanwâr*) which decorated the door and

[1] It need hardly be said that this custom of Brâhmans condescending to perform ceremonies for people of low caste is irregular. See Manu, III., 65, IV., 61, 81, 99.

[2] For the significance of the *kohabar* ceremony see *Majhwâr*, paragraph 18.

the sacred water jar (*kalsa*), and throws them into a stream. The deities that preside over marriages are Gauri (Devi) and Ganesa. Images of them made of cow-dung are placed in the marriage shed, and are rubbed with a little of the red lead before it is applied to the head of the bride. A marriage can be broken off after the first embassage (*puchhâwa*) of the headman, but once the red lead is applied it is final.

Forms of marriage.

13. The three forms of recognized marriage are the *charhauwa* and the *sagâi* for widows. There is also the *gurâwat*, or marriage by exchange, when two persons exchange sisters.[1]

Death ceremonies.

14. The dying person is removed into the open air before death.[2] The ceremonies are performed in the ordinary way. After cremation a stalk of the tall reed-like grass (*jhurai*) is planted on the edge of a tank. This is apparently like the vessel (*ghant*) hung on a pîpal tree, intended as an abode for the spirit (*pret*) during the time which elapse before the funeral ceremonies are complete.[3] During the next ten days the man who fired the pyre goes daily to the tank and pours ten vessels (*lota*) of water over the grass-stalk. When the mourners return from the pyre they sit and lament the deceased for a short time, and each touches with his big toe a little vessel of water which is laid in the court-yard. For ten days mourning goes on. The man who fired the pyre cooks his food in an earthen vessel without salt, eats only once a day out of a leaf platter (*dauna*), and the relations do not eat *pân* or turmeric or put oil on their heads. The chief mourner goes about with a knife and brass *lota* in his hands to keep off ghosts. On the day after the cremation the women of the family go to the tank. The dead man's mother walks in front of the widow, and all sing songs of mourning. When they arrive at the tank the widow washes the red lead off the parting of her hair and pours ten handfuls of water on the stalk of grass which embodies the spirit of her husband. All the women do the same, and the same ceremony is performed daily for ten days. On the tenth day (*daswân*) all the male relations shave at the tank and get a Brâhman to offer up three balls (*pinda*) of barley flour, which are thrown into

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[1] See *Bhuiya*, paragraph 18.
[2] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I., 453.
[3] *Ibid*, II., 152.

the water in the name of the deceased. They then return to the house, where the funeral priest (Mahâpâtra, Mahâbrâhman) attends and receives the bed, clothes, and vessels of the dead man, and one and-a-quarter rupee in cash from the person who fired the pyre. These, it is believed, will pass on for the use of the deceased in the next world (*svarga*).[1] "How could he get on in the next world without these things?" is what they say; but of a future in which felicity awaits the good and retribution meets the evil-doer they have only the very vaguest idea.[2] On that day his brother-in-law binds a turban on the head of the dead man's successor, and *pân* and betel-nut are distributed and the clansmen fed. On this day, to mark her abandonment of married life, the widow floats away (*serwa dena*) her little box which contains the red lead for the parting of her hair (*sendûra*) and forehead spangles into the water.

Ancestor worship.

15. At the period sacred to the dead (*pitra paksha*) in the month of Kuâr they plaster a little space under the eaves of the house, spread there a little rice and flowers, and a vessel (*lota*) full of water and a tooth-brush (*datwan*) for the use of the dead. On the 15th day of Kuâr they give some dry grain (*sîdha*) to a Brâhman, and feed a few of the kinsfolk in the name of the dead. If this is not done, their spirits beset them in dreams, cause the nightmare, and bring disease and death.

Religion.

16. Their special deity is Mahâdeva in the form of the *lingam*. As local deities they worship Sewanriya, the deity of boundaries, and Dharti Mahâdeva, the earth-god. These local deities have a shrine on the village bound[illegible] consisting of a mud platform under a *semal* (*bombax heptaphyllum*), *bahera* (*terminalia bellerica*), or *pîpal* (*ficus indica*) tree. A small red flag marks the shrine, near which are placed images of elephants. This is the shrine of Sewanriya, the deity of boundaries. In the name of Dharti and Mahâdeva two stone pillars are set up in the ground on the outskirts of the village. When the harvest is cut both these are propitiated by a burnt sacrifice (*hom*) of sugar and butter (*gur, ghi*). People who are in trouble make vows there, and, when the evil is removed, sacrifice a goat or fowl, and sprinkle some liquor through the Baiga. For this he receives some

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1 Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I., 481, 483, 490, 492, 495.
2 *Ibid*, II., 75.

grain and a couple of pice. The women have a special worship to Amina Devi,[1] in which men do not join. They make a burnt offering and light a lamp in her honour. If this deity is not worshipped the deity mounts on their heads and drives them into a fit of ecstacy (*abhuâna*). They have the usual custom of boring the ears (*kanchhedan*) of children when they are five years old. That day special food is served, and after this the child must conform to caste usages in the matter of food. Their religious business is done by a low class of Pânrê Brâhmans. On the day a child's ears are bored a goat is offered to Juâla-mukhi Devi, and the meat is consumed by the worshippers and their friends.

Festivals.

17. On the Râmnaumi of Chait they have the heads of their children shaved at the shrine of Juâla-mukhi Devi at Kota in the presence of the priest (*panda*) in charge of the temple. On that date they offer a goat and a burnt offering (*hom*). On the snake festival, Nâgpanchami, held on the fifth bright half of Sâwan, they will not plough, and make a white protective mark round the walls of their houses, oil the horns of the oxen, and give them salt. On the Dasahra, the tenth light half of Kuâr, they eat specially good food. On the feast of lamps, Diwâli, in the last day of the dark fortnight in Kârttik, they plaster the house, light lamps, and on that day the Ahîr herdsmen come and dance at the houses of their employers, and get some old clothes and a small money present. At the Til Sankrânt, in the end of the month of Pûs, they all eat rice boiled with pulse (*khichari*) after a Brâhman has first touched the food and blessed it. On the thirteenth light half of Pûs they bury the old year (*Sambat gârna*). There is a regular place outside the village in which a stake of the wood of the cotton tree (*semal*) is planted in the ground. Three days after all the villagers collect fuel round this, and on the day of the full moon (*pûranmâshi*) the village Brâhman fixes a time for burning the old year (*Sambat*). The fire is lit by the village Baiga, and then all the people apply fire to it, and parch stalks of barley in the fire and eat them. They also make small lumps of cowdung and throw them into the fire. Next morning all collect and sprinkle the ashes of the Sambat into the air. This is known as *râkh urâna*. After marking their foreheads with the ashes they return home. Next day, up to

[1] Amina Sati is one of the Pânchonpîr.

midday, the men sing abusive songs, and throw earth and cowdung at the women. After midday they bathe, put on clean clothes, throw about the powder of ground mica or talc (*abîr*), eat wheat cakes (*pûri*) fried in butter, and drink liquor. The feast winds up with a regular saturnalia in which decency and order are forgotten.[1]

Ghosts.

18. Places like wells and tanks where any one has been drowned are considered as specially haunted.[2] If any one goes alone to bathe in such places the ghost pushes him in and drowns him. They also have the same idea about deaths by a fall from a tree, which are regarded as the work of the offended tree spirit. If they happen to walk under a tree where such an accident has happened they bend their heads and bow. To keep off such ghosts people take a piece of iron about with them, such as a knife, a key, etc. They believe that if you can succeed in catching one of these malicious Bhûts and cutting off his scalp-lock, he will serve you for the rest of your life.

Tattooing.

19. The women tattoo themselves in the usual way among these jungle tribes.[3] They believe that if they are not tattooed God (Bhagwân) brands them in the next world with a torch of dry grass.[4]

Various superstitions, omens, oaths, witchcraft, etc.

20. The lucky days are Sunday and Monday and Friday; Tuesday and Saturday are unlucky. Among numbers 5 and 3 are lucky, 13 unlucky. They take omens from the *kurli* bird, whose song on commencing a journey or business is lucky. A jackal crossing the road is inauspicious. The house door may face the North, East, or West, but not the South. Every one has two names, that fixed by astrology (*râs*), and that in ordinary use. They swear by putting the hand on their son's head or touching a Brâhman's feet. In the first place if they tell a lie the son dies, in the second they lose their property or life. They are much in dread of witchcraft (*tona*). Such cases are treated by the Ojha, who has power to drive off or summon Bhûts, and can thus revenge himself on an enemy. Dreams only mean the displeasure of the

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[1] This festival has obvious analogies in European custom. Mannhardt considers them to be sun-charms or magical ceremonies intended to secure a proper supply of sunshine for men, animals, and plants. See Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, 268.

[2] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1, 109.

[3] See *Agariya*, para. 22.

[4] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 451.

sainted dead at inattention, and are not specially interpreted. Some women, particularly those born on a Saturday, can cast the Evil Eye. When a child is thus affected its eyelashes stand out straight, and when babies are struck they refuse the mother's breast. Even big children are affected. The sign of the arrival of a person with this power is that the person affected if eating immediately vomits. All disease is due to demoniacal influence. It is only Ojhas who can recognise the particular Bhût which is at the bottom of the mischief, and having marked him down they are able to prescribe the appropriate offering or expel the evil spirit by bringing the victim into a state of ecstacy (*abhuâna*).

Social customs.

21. Their dress presents no peculiarities. The women wear jewelry, the *satua* on the fore-arm, rings (*mundari*) on the fingers, the *bahunta* on the upper arm, the palm leaf ornament (*tarki*) in the ears, necklaces (*hansuli*) and strings of beads on the neck, heavy anklets (*pairi*). They do not wear the nosering. They use liquor and tobacco freely. They will not eat the flesh of monkeys, cows, buffaloes, horses, camels, crocodiles, snakes, lizards, jackals, or rats. They eat pigs, goats, sheep, fowls, and all kinds of fish. Women do not eat pork. Children eat first, then the men, and last of all the women. They will not touch a Dom, Chamâr, Dharkâr, or Bhangi; nor the wife of the younger brother, the wife's elder sister, and a connection (*samdhin*) through the marriage of children. They will not speak by name of the wife or mother, or of the dead if it can be avoided. In the morning they will not speak of death, disease, or quarrels, or of a lame man or a cripple, or of a village where bad characters live or where there was in former days a murder or a fight. They sow, if possible, on the tenth light half of Jeth. Fields for the spring crop are ploughed five times, for the autumn crop twice. They salute by the *pâélagi* form, and seniors give the blessing *nîké raho*, "Live happily!" If a woman's relation visits her she seizes him by the feet and weeps. Then in a sort of sing-song she describes all her troubles to him, and ends by washing his feet and giving him tobacco.[1] When a guest comes he is expected to bring with him some parched grain and coarse sugar for the children. Then if he is a clansman the householder seats him in the cooking place (*chauka*) and feeds him. Women are

[1] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 51.

respected, as they work very hard. Men who ill-treat their wives are divorced by the tribal council, and put out of caste for a year or two as a punishment. Old people are taken care of and given only light work. In the hot weather they all collect in the evening under a tree, and chat on village business. In the cold weather they assemble at each other's houses, sit round a fire of rubbish (*kaura*), and the house master finds them in chewing tobacco. They are very clannish and detest and distrust strangers. They will eat both kinds of food (*pakki* and *kachchi*) only from a Brâhman. No one but a Dom will eat or drink from their hands.

Occupation.

22. Their business is ploughing (*halwâhi*) and doing earthwork on embankments and tanks, in which men, women, and children join. When they take service as ploughmen they get on the first day a pot (*hânri*) full of grain and a rupee in cash, and the same when sowing is over. Their daily wages are three sers of barley or *sâwân* millet. The Byârs are a very quiet, respectable tribe, and are very seldom seen in our Courts.

23. They have a sort of local organisation (*eka*) in which three or four villages join, but it is weak and ineffective, and as a tribe they are little more than serfs, *ascripti glebæ*; a few are now beginning to cultivate as sub-tenants.

Distribution of the Biyârs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Benares . . .	3,214	Ballia	579
Mirzapur . . .	14,398	Tarâi	93
Ghâzipur . . .	537	Total .	18,821

Bohra.—(Sanskrit, *vyavahâraka*, "a trader").—A general term for any trader or money-lender. Those recorded under this name at the last Census are almost entirely confined to the Meerut Division. They claim to be and are usually admitted to be Brâhmans. Of them Sir H. M. Elliot[1] writes—"The Bohras of these Provinces either come from the neighbourhood of Jaypur, or are descendants

[1] *Supplemental Glossary. s.v.*

of the original settlers from that quarter, and preserve some peculiarities of speech and dress by which they are readily known. An inferior class of Bohras is called Kaiyân, who are said to take their name from their trick of constantly saying *Kahi, Kaîn*, 'Why?' or Rahti—the continually revolving nature of their dealings and monthly visits to their debtors have with reference to the constant revolutions of the *rahat* or Persian wheel and buckets procured them the designation of Rahti." Another name for them is Athwariya because they take interest every eighth (*âthwen*) day. The Bohras, according to Sir H. M. Elliot, have larger dealings and with higher classes than the Rahtis have, but, like the latter, are generally eager to acquire possession of profitable estates. There is, however, this difference between them, that the Rahtis lend and will take in return only money; whereas the Bohras are ready to receive every marketable article, including the produce of the soil as well as cattle, among which may be enumerated horses, camels, sheep and goats in payment of their debts.

2. Those in the Upper Ganges Jumna Duâb, claim to be Paliwâl Gaur Brâhmans, from Pâli, in Rajputâna.[1] Trade is not lawful for a Brâhman except in times of scarcity and under certain conditions.[2] Hence to mark their separation from Brâhmans with whom they do not mess or intermarry, they associate with the Mahâbrâhman, who is an abomination to the Hindu on account of his functions as a funeral priest.

3. In Kumaun the Bohras call themselves Khasiya Râjputs, but claim to have been originally money-lenders. They are now thriving agriculturists.[3] To the east of the Province the trading Brâhmans are called Bâona, and are analogous to the Bâbhan or Bhuînhâr.[4] Quite distinct from these trading Brâhmans are the Bohras of Central India, who are Musalmâns. They are wholesale merchants of the first class, as well as pedlars. They render implicit obedience to their elected Mullas. They are of the Hasani tribe,—once so-dreaded in Egypt and Persia for acts of murder and desperation. The principal Bohra colony at Ujjain, where they have four special quarters (*muhala.*)[5] In the Panjâb, as in these Provinces, all the Bohras are Hindus,

[1] Râja Lachhman Sinh, *Bulandshahr Memo.*, 151, *sqq.*
[2] Bühler, *Sacred Laws*, I, 72.
[3] Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 344, *sq.*
[4] Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II, 454.
[5] Malcolm, *Central India*, I, III, *sq.*

4. Their exogamous sections would lead to the conclusion that their origin is mixed. The Kâchhi and Khangâr seem to represent a non-Aryan element. Besides these are the Bachguâr, Balâi, Bâtham (from Srâvasti), Bhatiya, Charwâr, Dasâti, Deswâl, Kama, Kâsib, Kundal, Maheswari, Nâgar, Samel, Syâmi, and Sundi.

Distribution of the Bohras according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	622	Aligarh . . .	386
Muzaffarnagar . .	13	Etah	32
Meerut	2	Hardoi . . .	1
Bulandshahr . . .	75	Total .	1,131

Boriya.—A tribe of village servants and cultivators found chiefly in the Cawnpur and Hardoi Districts. Their sub-castes show that they are closely connected with, if not an offshoot of, the great Pâsi tribe. Thus we find among their sub-divisions Arakh, Baheliya, Gûjar, Khangâr, Kisân, Luniya, Pâsi, Râjpâsi, Rakhpâsi. Some, again, are local sections, such as Ajudhyabâsi, Antarbedi, Baiswâr, Banârasi, Brijbâsi, Kanaujiya, Mahobiya; others imply some connection with other tribes as Bhurtiya, Chauhân, Ghosi, Hâra, Kaithiya, Kathwâns, and Sombansi. Others are occupational, as Ghurcharha, "horsemen;" Khetwâl, "field men."

Distribution of the Boriyas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Kaithwâns.	Pârasrâmi.	Pâsi.	Others.	Total.
Cawnpur	2,990	6,831	4,739	3,591	18,151
Fatehpur	985	232	349	86	1,652
Hamîrpur	...	...	...	2	2
Hardoi	...	...	7,031	69	7,100
Bahrâich	...	...	...	4	4
Total .	3,975	7,063	12,119	3,752	26,909

Brâhman.[1]—The levite class of the Hindu caste system. The word Brâhmana is derived from Brâhman (root *brih, vrih,*) "religious devotion regarded as an impulse or feeling gradually growing up and expanding so as to fill the soul." To quote one of the latest and best authorities[2]—"The common term used in the Veda for the officiating priest is Brâhman (masculine, nominative singular, Brahma) originally denoting, it would seem, 'one who prays,' 'worshipper,' or 'the composer or reciter of a hymn." In some passages the word also signifies a special class of priests who officiated as superintendents during sacrificial ceremonies, the complicated nature of which required the co-operation of several priests. The fact that the terms Brâhmana and Brahmaputra, both denoting the son of a Brâhman, are used in certain hymns as synonymous of Brâhman, seems to justify the assumption that the profession had already to a certain degree become hereditary at the time when the hymns were composed." The term Brâhman, as Dr. Muir[3] remarks, must have been originally applied to the same persons who are elsewhere in the Vedic hymns spoken of as Rishi, Kavi, etc., and have denoted devout worshippers and contemplative sages who composed prayers and hymns which they themselves recited in praise of the gods. Afterwards when the ceremonial gradually became more complicated and a division of sacred functions took place, the word was more ordinarily employed for a minister of public worship, and at length came to signify one particular kind of priest with special duties. The original Aryan priest was the house father, and we still find among the lower Dravidian races that the family worship is done either by the head of the household or by the son-in-law or brother-in-law; and it was only when the service of the gods became a more complicated and difficult function that a special class of *officiants* was created for this purpose. This differentiation of function took place, of course, at an early date in the history of the development of Hinduism. Dr. Haug[4] believes that the differentiation of the functions of the classes of priests, Hotris, or repeaters of the Rik verses, the Udgâtris, the

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[1] Principally based on notes by Pandits Râmgharîb Chaubê and Bhân Pratâp Tiwâri.

[2] Professor Eggeling, *Encylopœdia Britannica, s.v., Brâhmanism.*

[3] *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, I, 243, 2nd edition; Nesfield, *Calcutta Review*, CLXVII, 258.

[4] *Aitareya Brâhmana*, I, *Introduction*, 9.

chanters of the Rik verses, and the Adhvaryus, or manual labourers and sacred cooks must have been at an early date, certainly not posterior to the collection of the Mantras, and the dicta of the Brâhman priests into separate works.

2. But, as Dr. Muir goes on to say:[1]—"Though towards the close of the Vedic period the priesthood probably became a profession, the texts do not contain anything which necessarily implies that the priests formed an exclusive caste or at least a caste separated from of all others by insurmountable barriers as in later times. There is a wide difference between a profession and even a hereditary order in caste in the fully developed Brâhmanical sense. There is, therefore, no difficulty in supposing that in the Vedic era the Indian priesthood, even if we admit its members to have been for the most part sprung from priestly families, may have often admitted aspirants to the sacerdotal character from other classes of their countrymen." This theory, then, that even the Brâhmans themselves are probably of mixed origin, and that the caste, as we find it now, is in a great measure occupational in origin, goes to the very root of the Brâhmanical caste system of modern India, and deserves to be established by some examples from the immense mass of evidence which might be adduced in support of it.

Composite origin of Brâhmans.

3. In the first place it may be noted that under the general head of Brâhman are included various classes which are almost generally admitted to be of distinct origin, such are the Mahâbrâhman or funeral priest who, on account of his functions, is detested by all Hindus who pretend to purity; the various kinds of beggars and astrologers, such as the Joshi, Dakaut, and his brethren, and the Ojha or devil priest, who is almost certainly the Baiga or ghost-finder of the Dravidian races, who has been imported into Hinduism. Next, the supposition that the early so-called Brâhmans were strictly endogamous, is contradicted by much evidence. Dr. Muir[2] on the evidence of the early texts, shows that they not only intermarried with women of their own order or even with women who had previously remained single, but were in the habit of forming connections with the widows of Rajanyas or Vaisyas, if they did not even take possession of the wives of such men while they were still alive.

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[1] *Aitareya Brâhmana*; 263, *sq*.
[2] *Ibid*, I, 282, *sq*.

4. Secondly, we have a mass of facts pointing to the creation of certain classes of Brâhmans in comparatively modern times. Thus in Partâbgarh[1] there is a current legend that the celebrated Oudh chieftain, Mânik Chand, created Brâhmans wholesale out of various Kurmis, Ahîrs, and Bhars. A similar case occurred in Fatehpur.[2] In Unâo, again, a story is told of Râja Tilok Chand, that one day while hunting he was very thirsty, and having no attendant he asked a Lodha, who was present there, to fetch him some water, which he brought in his own drinking vessel. The Râja after drinking the water discovered that the owner of the vessel was a low caste man, so he asked him to call himself a Brâhman under the title of Pâthak of Amtara, as he was watching the mango (*âm*) trees. This title still remains with his descendants, who are acknowledged as Brâhmans.[3] Sir J. Malcolm[4] in Central India found many low caste female slaves in Brâhman houses, the owners of which had treated them as belonging to their own caste. Under the head of *Dusâdh* a reference has been made to the curious Bihâr story of the clever Dusâdh girl who married a Brâhman.[5]

5. Thirdly, this intermixture of castes comes out very clearly in the earlier legends of the race. Thus we find that the Angirasas, or sons of Angiras, were Brâhmans as well as Kshatriyas. So the descendants of Garga, although Kshatriyas by birth, became Brâhmans.[6] In the Mahâbhârata Bhîma is married by his brother Yudhishthira to the Asura woman Hidimbi, and the marriage rites were regularly performed, and Draupadi, a Kshatriya girl, accepts as a husband in the Swayamvara Arjuna, who pretends to be a Brâhman.[7] According to a passage in the Mahâbhârata[8] all castes become Brâhmans when once they have crossed the Gomati on a visit to the hermitage of Vasistha. The Brâhman Drona acts the part of a Kshatriya in the great war. Kakshîvat was the son of Dirghatamas by Usij, a female servant of the Queen of the Kalinga Râja, whom her husband had desired to submit to the embraces of the sage in order that he might beget a son. The Queen substituted her bondmaid Usij. The sage, cognisant of the deception, consecrated Usij, and begot by her a son named Kakshîvat, who

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[1] *Settlement Report*, 117.
[2] *North-West Povinces Gazetteer* VIII, Part III, 49 ; VI, 351, *sq.*
[3] *Oudh Gazetteer*, I, 305, 365 : III, 229.
[4] *Central India*, II, 201.
[5] *Archæological Reports*, VIII, 102, *sqq.*
[6] Wilson, *Vishnu Purâna*, 359.
[7] *Ibid*, 451.
[8] III, 8,026.

through his affiliation to the Râja was a Kshatriya; but as the son of Dirghatamas was a Brâhman.[1] So Visvâmitra, a Kshatriya, by the force of his austerities, compelled Brahma to admit him into the Brâhmanical order in order that he might be on a level with Vasishtha, with whom he had quarrelled.[2] Even up to the time that Vasishtha wrote the legality of a twice-born man marrying a Sûdra woman seems to have been at least arguable.[3] Numerous instances of similar mutability of caste in comparatively modern times might easily be given.[4]

Legendary origin of Brâhmans.

6. The legends throw little light on the origin of Brâhmans as a caste except to establish the substantial unity of the Aryan peoples. By one account the Brâhman was produced from the mouth of the Supreme Being, the Kshatriya from his arms, the Vaisya from his thigh, and the Sûdra from his foot. In the Purusha Sukta hymn of the Rig Veda the primæval man is hewed by the gods into four parts, which form the four great divisions of the race. A later legend bases the division on purely moral grounds, and degraded those Brâhmans who gave themselves up to anger and pride into Kshatriyas; those who lived by agriculture and flock tending, the yellow Vaisyas; and those who gave way to lying and immorality, the black Sûdras.

Division of Brâhmans.

7. The usual division of Brâhmans is into ten great orders. First the five Drâvidas south of the Vindhyan range, consisting of the Mahârâshtras who dwell in the country where Marâthi is spoken; the Andras or Tailangas of the Telegu country; the Karnâtas of the Canarese country; and the Gurjaras of Gurjarâshtra or Gujarât. Secondly, the five Gauda or Gaur, north of the Vindhyas, consisting of the Sarasvatas, who take their name from the Sarasvati river; the Kanyakubjas or Kunaujiyas, from Kanayakubja or Kanauj; the Gaudas or Gaurs who are said to take their name either from Gaur in Bengal or Gonda in Oudh; the Utkalas of Orissa, and the Maithilas of Mithila, the modern Bihâr and its neighbourhood.

8. At the last Census the Brâhmans of these Provinces were recorded under twenty-one main sub-castes,—Bangâli, Chaubê,

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[1] Wilson, *Rig Veda*, I, 42, note.
[2] *Ibid*, II, 319.
[3] Bühler, *Books of the East*, II, 6.
[4] Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 58, *sq.*; Rajendra Lala Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, II, 266.

Drâvira, Gangaputra, Gaur, Gujarâti, Jhijhautiya, Kanaujiya, Karnâtak, Kashmîri, Khandelwâl, Maharâshtra, Maithila, Ojha, Palliwâl, Sakaldîpi, Sanâdh, Saraswata, Sarwariya, and Utkal. Besides these divisions, which are in a large degree territorial, there are others, such as Achârya, Hotri, etc., which are occupational. The Brâhmanic sub-castes will, for the sake of convenience, be discussed in separate articles. The complete lists give no less than nine hundred and two Brâhmanical divisions, but here tribes and *gotras* are inextricably compounded.

9. Among the sub-divisions of local importance, we find in Dehra Dûn the Gangâri; in Muzaffarnagar, the Achârya, Dakaut, and Taga; in Meerut, the Achârya, Bohra, Chaurasiya, Dakaut, Dasa, and Gautam; in Aligarh, the Abhinâshi, Agnihotri, Barwâna, Gautam, Parâsara, Pâthak, and Upâdhya; in Mathura, the Gautam and Nâgar; in Agra, the Chaurasiya and Gautam; in Farrukhâbâd, the Mahâbrâhman; in Etah, the Dichhit, Gautam, Rajauriya, and Upâdhya; in Budâun, the Parâsara, Pâthak, Tiwâri, and Upâdhya; in Morâdâbâd, the Gautam and Mahâbrâhman; in Hamîrpur, the Bhagorê and Sanaurhiya; in Allahâbâd, the Mâlawi and Râthi; in Jhânsi, the Bhagorê, Dakkhini, Karâri, and Sagarmodi; in Jalaun, the Aiwâsi; in Lalitpur, the Bhagor and Singirekh or Sringirishi; in Benares, the Audich, Bhâradwâja, Nâgar, and Vedi; in Mirzapur, the Sândil; in Jaunpur, the Kantil and Rajbhât; in Ghâzipur, the Bhârâdwâja, Chhatri, Gautam, Pachhaiyân, Parâsaragotra, Sândil, Vedi, and Yajurvedi; in Ballia, the Gautam; in Basti, the Sândil; in Bahrâich, the Belwâr; and in the Hills, the Bais, Bhal, Bhât, Gangâri, Joshi, Khas, Lakhpâl, Lohni, Pânrê, Panth, Pâthak, Sarola, Tripâthi, Tiwâri, Upâdhya, Upreti. Of many of these some account will be found in other articles.

Brâhmanic exogamy.

10. The great sub-castes already named are for the most part endogamous; but the rule appears to be occasionally relaxed when the scantiness of brides in the small local group is an obstacle to marriage. Thus there seems to be no doubt that in parts of the country at least the Gaur and Saraswata sub-castes intermarry. According to Manu persons are forbidden to marry who stand in the relationship of *sapindas*, that is, who are within five degrees of affinity on the side of the mother, and seven on that of the father. The person himself constitutes one of these degrees; that is to say, two persons stand to each other in the *sapinda* relationship if their common

ancestor, being a male, is not further removed from either of them than six degrees, or four degrees when the common ancestor is a female. This rule reinforces the principle that the *gotra* is an exogamous unit. It is needless to say that this *gotra* system has been developed to an extraordinary extent, and they have become so numerous that it is practically impossible to procure any well established list of the *gotras* of any of the chief tribes. The word *gotra* means primarily a "cow-pen," and has hence been extended to the descendants of a common ancestor. Most of them are what has been called eponymous, that is to say, they claim to be descended from and to derive their names from some Rishi, or saint, who is supposed to have been their first ancestor. All the Brâhmanical *gotras* have eight great ancestors only—Visvamitra, Jamadagni, Bharadwâja, Gautama, Atri, Vasistha, Kasyapa, and Agastya.[1] These occupy with the Brâhmans about the same position as the twelve sons of Jacob with the Jews, and only he whose descent from one of these great Rishis was beyond doubt could become the founder of a *gotra*. The Brâhmanical system of *gotras* has, again, by a fiction been extended to other tribes, such as the Râjput, Banya, Khatri, or Kâvasth, but among them the institution is exotic, and naturally much less vigorous than among the tribe from whom it was derived.

11. There is again another Brâhmanical division, that of the *charana* or *sâkha* and the *pravara*. The *sakha* or *charana* is usually applied to the body of persons who follow one of the various schools of Vedic teaching, which are said to be as many as 1,130, of which there are 1,000 for the Sama Veda, 100 for the Yajur Veda, 21 for the Rig Veda, and 9 for the Atharva Veda. The institution of the *pravara* is, again, purely religious. The *pravara* or *arsheya*, which are generally regarded as synonymous terms are those sacrificial fires which several *gotras* had in common. It was left to their own choice to which they wished to repair.

Domestic ceremonies.

12. Under the articles dealing with the separate Brâhmanical tribes an account of some of the domestic ceremonies has been given. A few points may here be noticed, principally derived from the customs of the Sarwariya Brâhmans of the Eastern Districts of the Province.

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[1] Haug, *Aitareya Brahmanam*, II, 479.

The Rajodarsan : garbhadâna.

13. What is commonly known as the *rajodarsan* (*rajas*, "pollution," *darsana*, "seeing") is the time during which women remain impure for four days after the menstrual period, and while in this state do not touch the drinking water or cook for the household. This is, it is hardly necessary to say, consistent with the common practice of the most primitive tribes.[1] The pollution is removed by the *rajasnân* or ceremonial bathing on the fourth day. Immediately on marriage follows the "impregnation rite," *garbhadâna*. In ancient times no bridegroom approached the bride till the fourth night after the completion of the marriage ceremony. This interval is prescribed by Gobhila. The present interval of two, three, or four years in the case of child-marriages is quite unsupported by the authority of ancient lawyers. Dhanavantari (in the Susruta) declares that the Garbhadâna should not take place till a girl is sixteen. Dr. Bühler has shown from the Vivaha Mantras that, in olden times girls were married long after they had reached the age of puberty, and infant marriages were unknown; moreover that the human husband is the fourth husband, the three gods, Soma, Visvavasu, and Agni, being the first three at the period of a girl's becoming marriageable. As it should take place on the fourth day, the consummation rite was sometimes called *Chaturthi karma*. During the previous day the young married woman was made to look towards the sun, or in some way exposed to the rays. In the evening she was required to bathe. Her husband also performed his ablution and went through other prescribed forms. Before approaching his wife he was careful to secure the solemn imprimatur of religion on an act which might lead to the introduction of another human being into the world. He therefore repeated two *mantras* or texts of the Rig Veda (X, 184), the first of which may be thus translated,—"Let (all-pervading) Vishnu prepare her womb; let the Creator shape its forms; let Prajapati be the Impregnator; let the Creator give the embryo."[2] At present, in Bengal, the girl is subjected to a period of isolation which exactly corresponds to that described by Mr. Frazer in the case of various primitive races, the idea being that at this period of her life dangerous influences emanate from the girl which it is necessary to counteract. In Upper

[1] Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, 238, *sqq*.

[2] Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 353.

India the rite appears to consist in the worship of the *kula devata* or family god, and if the head of the family is rich or illiterate, a Brâhman is employed to read the Durgapâtha or songs in honour of the goddess Durga. This rite is intended to obviate the danger of a miscarriage.

Simanta pum savana.

14. Next follows, in the sixth month of pregnancy, the *simanta pum savana*, or the rite of male production, done with the object of securing a male heir, the desire of every Hindu mother. The expectant mother is bathed, dressed in red clothes which are sent from her father's house, and some fruit, the emblem of prolificacy, is placed in her lap. She then goes to the family shrine and worships the household god.

Nandimukh srâddha.

15. When the child is born, and before the cord is cut, the head of the family does the *nandimukh srâddha*. He lays some *kusa* grass on the ground and offers a *pinda* over it. After this the cord is cut and it is buried in the room in which the delivery took place. Over it a fire (*pasanghi*) is lighted, and wood of the *teudu* tree is burnt. For twelve days the lamp is fed with *nim* oil. During this time the mother is fed with cakes (*puri, halwa*), caudle (*achhwâni*), and ginger (*sonth*). Bread and pulse cannot be given to her, because during the period of pollution only substances cooked with ghi, milk, or parched grain, can be taken from the family cookhouse. The members of the family are impure for twelve days after a confinement in the house; during this time no Deota can be worshipped, nor can any one drink water from their hands. After the sixth day the Chamâr midwife is dismissed, the mother and child are bathed, and after that the Nâin or barber's wife attends on her. But it is not absolutely necessary that this rite should take place on the sixth day in case the omens are adverse. In that case it is postponed for one or two days. At this rite one of the women of the house waves some barley in a sieve or basket over the mother and child, and this grain is given to the midwife. If the first child die, the next born is usually put in a sieve, or it is weighed in a scale against barley, which is given to the midwife. The general rule appears to be that if a child die within six days after birth the corpse is buried; if it die between that time and the investiture with the sacred cord (*janeu*) it is thrown into a river (*jal pravâh*); after investiture the dead are cremated. The corpses of girls up to

the age of seven are thrown into running water; if over that age or married they are cremated.

Barahi.

16. On the twelfth day after birth is the *barahi*, when the mother and child are bathed and the baby is shown to its male relations, who are expected to put a money present in its hand. The maternal grandmother sends a yellow sheet (*pîari dhoti*) for the mother, and for the child a little coat (*jhola*), and a cap (*topi*). On that day all the women friends collect and have their nails cut, while a barber woman rubs them with a mixture of oil and turmeric (*ubtan*). If the baby be a boy, the lady friends give the wife's mother, or in her absence the father, two annas each; in the case of a girl, the contribution is half that amount. This is known as "the nail cutting" (*nakh katiya, nakh tarâshi*). A list of these donations is made at the time, so that the receiver may reciprocate them when a similar occasion occurs in the family of the donor. The women also give a pice or two to the barber's wife, who does the anointing. All the women then sit down and sing the birth song (*sohar, Sans: sobha*). This is the only song (*râg*) which can be sung at any time of the day; for the others appropriate times are fixed.

Mûla sânti.

17. If the child be born in the asterism of Mûla, the *mûla sânti* rite is performed to obviate the ill-luck attaching to this period. In this case the woman and child are kept in the delivery room for twenty-seven days from the date of birth, and during that period the father is not allowed to see the face of the baby; he is also not allowed to shave or change his clothes. There are two kinds of the Mûla asterism, "the light" (*halka, lâg*); the other "heavy" (*bhâri, dirh*). If the birth occur in the latter, he must not see his child for twelve years, and in that interval can neither shave nor change his clothes. Many persons, under such unfortunate circumstances, become Jogis. On the day of the *mûla sânti* rite everything follows the number twenty-seven, the number of the asterisms (*Nakshatra*); water is drawn from twenty-seven wells, the wood of twenty-seven varieties of trees, sieves made with twenty-seven kinds of knots, blankets of twenty-seven breadths, earth from both banks of the Ganges, clay that has been pressed by the foot of a horse or elephant, and from the King's gateway, which at Chunâr is the main gate of the fort, are collected. The child's father bathes and goes into the courtyard. There a barber woman makes a square of

flour, and in it places a stool for him to sit on. Near him is placed a jar (*kalsa*) filled with Ganges water. The Purohit or family priest then worships Gauri and Ganesa. The earth and blankets are put into the sieves and laid on the father's head, while over him is poured the water drawn from twenty-seven wells. After this the barber's wife receives the blankets as her perquisite, and a small money present. This done, the father is considered pure, and he is allowed to come out, shave, and bathe. Then he returns to the square, where he worships a small brass or gold image of. Vishnu. Near him is placed a brass saucer (*katori*) which is filled with ghi from a black cow. The ghi is melted until it becomes quite thin. The saucer is placed before the father, who keeps his eyes fixed upon it. The mother comes up from behind with the child in her arms, and she holds the baby so that the father may see its image reflected in the ghi. After this the child is seated in his lap, and he makes it a present in money. In case the child is born in Mûl, the twelfth day rite is postponed, and carried out with the observance on the twenty-seventh day. The ceremony ends with the feeding of twenty-seven Brâhmans, and the presenting of gifts to the friends and relatives who have attended the ceremony.

Dolarohana.

In the families of learned Brâhmans, such as Pandits, when the child is two months old it is dressed in a new cap and coat and placed in a swing (*hindola*). Up to that time it remains on a bed. This rite is known as *dola rohana*. On that day the family god is worshipped, and rich food (*púri, bakhír*) is cooked for the household.

Vâhir nisarana.

19. Pandits have also another rite known as "the bringing out," *vahirnisarana*. The usual custom is that the child is not brought out of the house until "the grain feeding," *annaprâsana*. But if it is desired to bring the child out before it is fed on grain, he performs this rite. The baby is dressed in a new coat and cap of blue cloth, the colour of the sky. These clothes are first dedicated at the house shrine (*diukari*), and then the child's forehead is marked with lamp-black (*kâjal*) and a necklace of holy seeds (*bajarbatta*) and tiger's claws (*baghnaha*) tied round its throat. All these are devices to repel the Evil Eye. It is then brought out; but as an additional precaution a black piece of cloth, a colour which frightens evil spirits, is hung round its neck, or at any rate the coat

is bound with black braid. In former times this bringing of the child into the open air was known as the *nishkramana*.

The Annaprâsana.

20. According to the early ritual the "food-giving" rite or *annaprâsana* was performed in the sixth month after birth. "The child was carried in the arms of its father and placed in the midst of a party of friends, including the family priest, who offered prayers for its welfare and presented it gifts. A little food (generally rice) was then for the first time placed in its mouth, and various qualities were supposed to be imparted, according to the nature of the food given, whether rice, butter, honey, milk, or the flesh of partridges or goats."[1] Now-a-days in the sixth month a lucky day is selected. Rich food (*púri, bakhír*) is cooked; the waist string of some old member of the family is broken and tied round the waist of the baby to ensure its long life. Then a tray containing rich food is laid before the oldest man in the family. He takes a little out, and after making a holy circle round it with water, offers it to Vishnu. The reason of this is that there was once a foolish Brâhman whose children used to die one after the other, so he made a vow that if his child lived, he would eat its ordure. The child did live, and he was fain to avoid performing his rash vow; so he went to a learned Pandit at Benares, who directed him to take out a little of his food that day in this manner, and so his vow would be satisfied. Hence Brâhmans before eating always take out a little food in this way, and offer it to the Thâkur. After this has been done the old man before whom the food has been placed takes up a little of the food on one of the silver coins of the ancient kings or on a gold mohur of the Emperor Akbar, and puts it into the child's mouth. No English coin will answer the purpose. After this, if the family can afford it, a few Brâhmans are fed. If they are poor they consume the food which has been prepared for the rite, and give a Brâhman some raw grain. Until the *annaprâsana* is done the child is never left alone lest the witch Jamhua, who is really the impersonation of the infant lock-jaw, which is so fatal to children owing to the cutting of the cord with a blunt instrument and the neglect of all antiseptic treatment, should carry off the baby. Hence a woman or child is always left in charge. As an additional precaution, they also place near the bed an iron

[1] Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 353.

lamp-black box (*kajrauta*), and anoint the child four or five times with a mixture of oil and turmeric (*ubtan*) in the belief that as it is rubbed its strength will increase.

The Mûnran and kanchhedan.

21. In the fifth year the rites of head-shaving (*mûnran*) and ear-piercing (*kanchhedan*) are performed. The regular ritual prescribes that the tonsure, shaving and cutting off the hair should be done separately. They were known as *chaula*, *chûdakarma*, *kesanta*, and *kshaur*. "When performed for the first time they were held to have a purificatory effect on the whole character. In the case of a Brâhman the ceremony of tonsure was performed in the third year, but was often delayed, and sometimes did not take place till the seventh or eighth year. According to Asvalayana the child was to be placed on the lap of its mother to the west of the sacred fire. The father was to take up his station to the south of the mother, holding in his hands twenty-one stalks of *kusa* grass. He was to sprinkle the head of the child three times with a mixture of warm water, butter, and curds. He was to insert three stalks of *kusa* grass into the child's hair on the right side, saying,—'O divine grass! protect him.' Then he was to cut off a portion of the hair and give it to the mother with the recitation of various texts, leaving one lock (*sikha*, *chuda*) on the top of the head, or occasionally three or five locks, according to the custom of the family."[1] At present it is usual for the Eastern Brâhmans to have this rite performed at some shrine, such as that of Devi of Bindhâchal. For three days before the shaving rite a song is sung in honour of Devi, and many Brâhmans who have lost children, vow that if the life of the last is spared, the mother will carry the whole way to the shrine a clay pot (*bursi*) full of fire, and will eat nothing on the road but parched grain. When they reach the courtryard of Devi's temple, they place the fire pot before the Panda, whose parishioners they may happen to be. Next day, after bathing the child in the Ganges, the parents take it to the temple, and the Panda instructs them how to perform the usual circumambulation (*parikrama*). After this the baby is seated in its father's lap near the shrine, and a barber shaves its head. A few sweets (*laddu*) are given to the child, and then a Sunâr comes up from behind and pierces both its ears. They take home with them a striped handkerchief (*chundari*) which

[1] Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 359.

they tie round their necks for good luck, and some sweetmeats, which they distribute among their friends as the holy food (*prasâd*) of the goddess.

The Pâthana rite.

22. The rites of childhood close usually with the Pâthana or commencement of learning. A lucky day is selected, and with earth and water from the Ganges a little platform (*chabûtra*) is made. When it is ready some dry earth is sprinkled over it. Below the platform the child is seated facing east, while the family priest faces west. Ganesa, the deity of good luck, is first worshipped. Then a cowry shell is placed on the platform and worshipped. Next the priest puts the shell in the boy's hand and makes him write with it five times the words *Sri Ganesa namah*. This he has to obliterate with his right hand. Some Brâhmans are fed if the family can afford it; and from that day the boy's education begins.

The Upanayana rite.

23. After this comes the important rite of initiation known as *upanayana*. A Brâhman should be initiated when he comes to be eight years old, dating from the time of conception. A time should be selected when the stars are auspicious, and it should not be performed in the evening or during a thunder-storm. First of all a shed (*mânro*) is erected with bamboo supports. In the centre a ploughshare is placed, and near it a jar (*kalsa*) filled with water. Under the thatch a square (*chauk*) is marked out with flour, and on this two leaf mats (*patari*) are laid, and under them some grains of barley are sprinkled. On these mats the parents of the boy sit with the corners of their garments knotted together and facing the east. The father wears a yellow loin-cloth, and has a handkerchief (*angochha*) over his left shoulder. The mother wears a yellow sheet. Then the officiating Purohit places in the father's right hand some holy rice (*achhat*) and flowers, repeating at the same time some texts and directing him to pour the contents of his hand on the ground. Next the Purohit puts some gold or copper coins in his hands, and reads the *sankalpa* or formula of dedication. Then he invokes Dharitri Mâta or Mother Earth, and the father puts the money on the ground, which he touches reverently. He then sprinkles the earth with water from a bunch of *kusa* grass, and offers Malayagir or Malabar sandal-wood and incense to Mother Earth. Then Ganesa is worshipped in the form of a representation of an elephant which is made on the water jar (*kalsa*). The picture is drawn with red

lead or turmeric. Then an image of Gauri is made of cow-dung and placed near the water jar. Some make seven images of cow-dung to represent Gauri and her sisters.

24. Next the jar is filled with water by the father of the boy, and over the mouth is placed a saucer containing some of the sacred grains, the *sâwân* millet, unhusked rice or barley. This is followed by the worship of the nine planets (*navagraha*). To the north-east of the jar is made an altar (*vedi*), and on it a square is marked out with flour, in which images of the planets are made in various ways. That of the Sun is made of flour; Mangal or Mars of red lead; that of the Moon of rice-flour; that of Vrihaspati or Jupiter of turmeric; that of Budha or Mercury of turmeric; that of Venus or Sukra of rice-flour; that of Sanischara or Saturn and Râhu and Ketu, the ascending and descending nodes, of *til* or sesamum. Then with the recital of appropriate texts offerings are made to each,—to the Sun, a cow, copper, wheat, red sandal, and red cloth; to the Moon, a conch shell, Malabar sandal, white cloth, a white cow, and rice; to Mangal, a red ox, red cloth, copper, treacle, and rice; to Budha, camphor, *mûng* pulse, green cloth, a black cow, and gold; to Vrihaspati, a yellow cow, yellow cloth, gram, and turmeric; to Sukra, Malabar sandal, white cloth, rice, and a white horse; to Sanischara, oil, sesamum, black cloth, a black cow, and iron; to Râhu, a buffalo, or goat, a blanket, cotton and its seed, *urad* pulse, and sesamum; to Ketu, cloth of various colours, grain, iron, sesamum, and *urad* pulse.

25. All these offerings, except those made to the last three deities, are taken by ordinary Brâhmans; those to Sanischara by the Bhanderiya or Dakaut.

26. When the offerings are complete, the parents are dismissed, and the boy who desires initiation is called. All his hair is shaved, and he is invested with a waist-string (*kardhana*) of *munj* fibre, a small loin cloth (*kopin*), and he is given a *dand* or bamboo stick, to the end of which is tied a cloth containing some rice and pulse. This signifies that he has adopted the role of the Sannyâsi. The Purohit repeats texts, and five other Brâhmans sprinkle the eight parts of his body with a mixture of rice and turmeric. Then another square is made, and seven lamps and twigs of mango are tied together and placed within it. Beside them are laid seven images of Gauri made of cow-dung, and he worships the lights and the images of the goddess. Next he worships the water jar, and

goes to the house door, on each side of which seven images of Gauri are made. These he worships with an offering of cakes (*púri*), red lead, sacred grass, incense, lamps and *naivedya* or a mixture of treacle, curds, ghi, honey, and water. After this he returns to the house, and in the inner room (*kohabar*) worships ten images of Gauri in the same way. Next he pours ghi on the images of all the deities whom he has up to this time worshipped. Then his parents are recalled, the corners of their garments are knotted together, and they are made to sit in a square facing the south. All the ancestors are invited to appear and sit on leaf mats placed close by for their reception. When their spirits are supposed to have taken their places, some rice, *ber* fruit, treacle, ghi, honey, and sesamum are mixed together and formed into a lump. This is offered to the sainted dead, and afterwards placed in the shed. Again the parents are dismissed, and the boy is called in. Eight Brâhmans are called in and fed on *pakki* under the shed. The boy sits in the midst of them, and each Brâhman gives him a morsel of his food, which he eats. On this occasion the boy is not allowed to eat salt. When the meal is finished, the floor is again plastered.

27. Next three altars are made in the shed. Each altar should be the length of the distance of the point of the thumb from that of the ring finger. The father entrusts his son to a priest of the Achârya grade, and humbly requests him to instruct the lad and make him a full Brâhman. The Achârya signifies his consent by taking the boy by the arm, and the lad has to make an offering of eight Brâhmanical threads (*janeú*). One is offered to the sacred water jar, one to Ganesa, five to five Brâhmans, and one the lad keeps himself. Further, the lad presents a full suit of clothes to the Purohit, Guru and Achârya, and one to another Brâhman, who is regarded as the representation of Brahma. Then beginning from the north-east he spreads *kusa* grass evenly on the three altars, and the Achârya calls for fire, which is brought in a vessel made of bell metal (*kánsa*). Upon this is heaped up wood of the *madár* (*asclepias gigantea*) *palás* (*butea frondosa*), *khair* (*acacia catechu*) *chirchiri* (*achyranthus aspera*), *pípal*, *gúlar*, *sami*, and some *dúb* grass. This collection of wood is technically known as *samidh*. When this is ready the lad makes a present to the Brâhman who represents Brahma, and asks him to watch over the sacrifice and prevent any interruption of it. Then the Achârya repeats the appropriate text one hundred and eight times, and all the time keeps

pouring *ghi* on the wood. This oblation of *ghi* is known as *ahuti*, and is done with a leaf or twig of mango. Pieces of dry cow-dung (*goitha*) and three sticks of *palâsa* wood are also thrown on the fire, and so with all the *kusa* grass which had been spread on the altars. On the top are placed some betel and cocoanuts. On this five Brâhmans hold a Brâhmanical thread and invest the lad with it, repeating the appropriate text.

28. After this the lad is bathed with water from eight jars, and he puts on another sacred thread. He is dressed in yellow garments and golden ornaments and wears wooden sandals (*kharaun*) stained with turmeric. He next begs from all present.

29. He then runs out in the guise of a Brahmachâri with the object of attaining religious knowledge, and is dissuaded by his parents from adopting the life of a recluse. When he consents to return the women of the house put treacle and washed rice in his hands, and kiss the eight parts of his body. The deities and sainted ancestors who have graced the rite with their presence are humbly requested to return to their own abodes, and the rite is complete.

30. The ceremony, though disguised by an elaborate Brâhmanical ritual, is obviously based on the same general principles of which an elaborate account, derived from the usages of various primitive races, has been given by Mr. Frazer.[1]

Other domestic ceremonies.

31. Some account of the other domestic ceremonies of Brâhmans has been given in connection with the Brâhmanical tribes, and need not be repeated here.

The functions of the Brâhmans.

32. The religious functions of the Brâhman are various. If the word is, as Professor Schrader[2] suggests, philologically the same as the Flamen of Rome, we have a link with the religious practices of two branches of the great Aryan race. We have first, the Upâdhyâya or Pâdha, who is the officiating priest, with whom may be classed the Achârya, Hotri, and similar functionaries whose business it is to superintend the more elaborate and mysterious rites of the faith which can be performed by none but those deeply conversant with the Vedic ritual. Next comes the Parohit or Purohit, "one placed in front," the *prepositus* or *praeses* of the Roman world. The institu-

[1] *Golden Bough*, II, 342, *sqq.*
[2] *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 416, 420.

tion of the Purohita, who was not only a mere house priest, but a political functionary, goes back to the early Aryan times. In Vedic times he was regarded as a confidential and virtuous minister of state; but by the time of Manu[1] he had fallen to a lower status, and was regarded as inferior to other Brâhmans. His duties consist in superintending the domestic rites at birth, initiation, and marriage. He must be acquainted with the appropriate *mantras* or texts which are used on these occasions, and he generally knows a modicum of astrology (*jyotish*) by which he is enabled to cast horoscopes and announce the lucky and unlucky days for the performance of the various family rites, the commencement of agricultural operations, and the like. The ordinary village Purohit is, it is hardly necessary to say, very seldom proficient in Sanskrit or religious learning. He is able to mumble a few texts without understanding them; but he rarely makes any attempt to inculcate morality or improve the lives of his parishioners. This duty, so far as it is done at all, he leaves to the Guru, who may or may not be a Brâhman. The lowest class of semi-religious Brâhman is that which, as Mr. Ibbetson[2] says, "exist only to be fed. They consist of the younger members of the Purohit families, and of Brâhmans who have settled as cultivators or otherwise in villages where they have no hereditary clients. These men are always ready to tender their services as recipients of a dinner, thus enabling the peasant to entertain the desired number of Brâhmans on occasions of rejoicing, as a propitiatory offering, in token of thanksgiving, for the repose of his deceased father's spirit, and so forth. The veneration for Brâhmans runs through the whole social as well as religious life of the Hindu peasant, and takes the practical form of either offerings or food. No child is born, named, betrothed, or married; nobody dies or is burnt; no journey is undertaken or auspicious day selected; no house is built, no agricultural operation of importance begun, or harvest gathered in, without the Brâhmans being fed; a portion of the produce is set apart for their use; they are consulted in sickness and in health; they are feasted in sorrow and in joy; and though I believe them to possess but little real influence with the people, a considerable portion of the wealth of the Province is diverted into their useless pockets." This is pretty much the state of the

[1] XII, 46, and see Muir, *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, I, 128, note.
[2] *Panjâb Ethnography*, para. 236.

Brâhmans further east. As Mr. Sherring[1] says of the Benares Brâhman :—" Light in complexion in comparison with the rest of the people, frequently tall in stature, with the marks of a clear penetrating intelligence depicted plainly, and sometimes in a striking manner, upon his countenance, erect, proud, self-conscious, the Brâhman walks along with the air of a man unlike any I have ever seen, in which self-sufficiency, a sense of superiority and a conviction of inherent purity and sanctity are combined."

33. Besides these sacerdotal Brâhmans there are, it is needless to say, numbers who have no religious functions whatever, who serve as soldiers or messengers, clerks in our offices, and the like. There is also a large body of Brâhman agriculturists, though most of them will not themselves touch the plough.

Distribution of Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Dehra Dun	15,027
Sahâranpur	44,250
Muzaffarnagar	41,427
Meerut	108,071
Bulandshahr	92,000
Aligarh	131,798
Mathura	113,936
Agra	122,636
Farrukhâbâd	78,220
Mainpuri	56,301
Etâwah	91,019
Etah	53,313
Bareilly	47,085

[1] *Sacred city of the Hindus*, 14.

Distribution of Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Number.
Bijnor	27,118
Budaun	57,002
Morâdâbâd	43,578
Shâhjahânpur	60,453
Pilibhît	25,147
Cawnpur	178,399
Fatehpur	68,180
Bânda	99,041
Hamîrpur	49,570
Allahâbâd	196,349
Jhânsi	34,633
Jâlaun	48,269
Lalitpur	21,745
Benares	102,978
Mirzapur	165,885
Jaunpur	150,908
Ghâzipur	68,379
Ballia	103,547
Gorakhpur	265,550
Basti	196,412
Azamgarh	110,103
Kumaun	134,841
Garhwâl	97,581
Tarâi	6,705
Lucknow	44,414
Unâo	122,056
Râê Bareli	108,676

Distribution of Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Number.
Sitâpur	103,850
Hardoi	113,190
Kheri	69,654
Faizâbâd	159,637
Gonda	230,507
Bharâich	87,481
Sultânpur	162,509
Partâbgarh	124,424
Bârabanki	86,091
Total	4,719,882 (Males 2,455,791; Females 2,264,091)

Brindabani.—A sub-caste of Gusâîns who take their name from Brindaban, in the Mathura District (*vrindavana*), "the grove of *tulasi*" or basil). It is not quite clear to which section of the Vaishnavas the term is applied. The relation of Brindaban to the modern school of Hindu reformers has been elaborately discussed by Mr. Growse.[1]

Distribution of the Brindabani Gusâîns according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Muzaffarnagar	2	Mirzapur	24
Cawnpur	1	Kheri	11
		Total	38

[1] *Mathura*, 179, *sqq.*

Bughâna.—A class of Hill Brâhmans who by one account are descended from Gaur Brâhmans of Benares; others say that they have the same origin as the Naithâna Brâhmans (*q. v.*). They have the same relations with Sarolas and Gangâris, are intelligent, and, when educated, make useful clerks and officials.[1]

Bundela.[2]—A sept of Râjputs almost entirely confined to the Bundelkhand country, to which they have given their name, now included in the Allahâbâd Division. According to the Mirzapur tradition they are descended from a family of Gaharwâr Râjputs, resident at the village of Gaura, near Bindhâchal. Of their ancestors one took service with the Râja of Panna, an independent state between Bânda and Jabalpur. The Râja died childless, and the Gaharwâr adventurer took possession of his fort. He had no son, and being disgusted with life, he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Vindhyabâsini Devi, at Bindhâchal, where he offered his head to the goddess. Out of the drops of his blood which fell upon the altar a boy was born, who was called Bundela, because he sprang from the drops (*bûnd*) of blood. He returned to Panna and founded the clan which bears his name. In their own country they are known among themselves as Bundela, but by outsiders as Gaharwâr. They do not marry among Baghels, Bais, Gaur, Umath, or Sengar Râjputs, who are known as the Sakuri group. They intermarry with Panwârs, Dhanderas, or Chauhâns. Mr. Sherring's assertion that they are endogamous is contradicted by them. The prohibitions against marriage are the loss of religion, residence among foreign peoples, disregard of tribal custom, and engaging in occupations practised by low caste people. The Bundelkhand branch represent themselves to be the descendants of Pancham, Râja of Benares. During the reign of Nasîr-uddîn Mahmûd, Emperor of Delhi, (1246-1266 A.D.) Arjuna Pâla, a descendant of Râja Pancham, left Benares for Mahoni, and made that place his capital. One of his descendants became Râja of Kudâr; his name was Saho Pâl and his descendant founded Orchha, and thence his descendants spread over Bundelkhand.

2. The stages in the marriage ceremony are—

Marriage.

1st.—Phaldân, the betrothal, when the family priest of the bride's family gives the

[1] Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 270.

[2] Partly based on a note by Diwân Bijay Bahâdur Sinh of Lalitpur.

bridegroom a sacred thread (*janeú*), some rupees, cloth, and a betel-nut, in the presence of the elders of his family. The money is distributed as alms among the Brâhmans.

2nd.—Lagan patrika, or the fixing of the date for the marriage.

3rd.—Paurparsatkár, the reception of the party (*bárát*) of the bridegroom at the door of the bride's house.

4th.—Charhau, offering of ornaments by the relatives of the bride to the bridegroom.

5th.—Suhág, the rubbing of red lead by the bridegroom on the parting of the bride's hair.

6th.—Kanyádán, the giving away of the bride to her husband by her father.

7th.—Panigrahana, the holding of the bride's right hand by the bridegroom as an indication that he promises to support her as long as she lives.

8th.—Ahuti karna, the making of the fire sacrifice.

9th.—Parikrama, the revolutions of the pair round the sacred fire

10th.—Dhruva sakshi karna, the promise of the bridegroom, in the presence of fire, water, the sun, and other natural objects, that he will be faithful to her and she to him.

11th.—Sayyadán, the presenting of a bed to the married pair.

12th.—Daija, dahej, or *jahez dena*, the giving of the dowry. Women can be divorced for adultery, impurity, violation of tribal rules, and neither divorced women nor widows are allowed to remarry.

Religion.

3. They belong to the Vaishnava sect, and are either Râmâwats or worshippers of Râdha Krishna. In all respects they follow the ceremonial usages of high class Hindus.

Social rules.

4. They believe their original profession to have been soldiering, and some of them serve in our Native regiments. They hold land as landlords and tenants. They will eat the flesh of goats, deer, wild pig, and fish; but those who abstain from meat are considered more respectable. Spirits are forbidden. They eat *kachchi* and *pakki* from the hands of Brâhmans, and can eat *pakki* with Banyas and Khatris, by which is meant that they will eat with them on the same floor, but not from the same dish. They can drink water from the hands of Kahârs and Nâis. They smoke only out of a pipe used by their

clansmen. The Bundelas, on the whole, are a fairly respectable Râjput sept, but they are occasionally given to lawlessness, dacoity, and similar crimes of violence.

5. In Jalaun they give brides to the Dhandhera and Panwâr septs, from whom also they take wives. They profess to belong to the Kasyapa *gotra*. These Panwârs with whom they intermarry are the Râj Panwârs or inferior grade in Bundelkhand.

Distribution of Bundela Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Bulandshahr . . .	25	Allahâbâd . . .	114
Mathura	1	Jhânsi	1,942
Agra	15	Jâlaun	189
Farrukhâbâd . . .	58	Lalitpur	6,152
Etâwah	6	Gorakhpur . . .	2
Etah	4	Basti	96
Shâhjahânpur . . .	29	Lucknow	2
Cawnpur	2	Faizâbâd	2
Fatehpur	43	Partâbgarh . . .	7
Hamîrpur . . .	618	Total .	9,307

Burhela.—A sept of Râjputs in Râê Bareli,[1] who are not separately entered in the Census Returns. Their sons marry girls from the Raghubansi and Bais septs; their girls marry Amethiya and with difficulty Bais boys.

[1] *Settlement Report, Appendix C.*

C

Châi,[1] **Châin, Châini.**—A cultivating, fishing, and thieving caste found in Oudh and the Eastern Districts. Nothing certain is known as to the origin of the name. It has been suggested that they are the representatives of the Châryа,[2] a degraded Vaisya class, or that the word is totemistic (meaning the seed of a tamarind; Sanskrit, *châ'rmika*, "leather"). Mr. Risley[3] writes of them:—"They are probably an offshoot from some non-Aryan tribe. They are found in Oudh, where Mr. Nesfield connects them with the Thâru, Râji, Nat, and other broken and gypsy-like tribes inhabiting the base of the Himâlayas, and traces in their physiognomy features peculiar to Mongolian races. Mr. Sherring, again, in one place speaks of them as a sub-caste of Mallâhs; in another as a class of jugglers, thimble-riggers, and adventurers, who attend fairs and other festivals like men of the same profession in England. A sub-caste of the Nuniyas bears the name Châin, but the Nuniyas do not admit any affinity. Mr. C. F. Magrath, in his Memorandum on the Tribes and Castes of Bihâr, published in the Bengal Census Report of 1872, says they closely resemble Binds in their occupation, being chiefly boatmen, who also engage in fishing. Châins are thickest south of the Ganges, while Binds are most numerous in North Bihâr. Mr. Magrath adds that their reputation as thieves, impostors, and swindlers, is in his experience not altogether deserved, as the men whom the common people, and even the police of Bihâr, describe as Châins, usually turn out on enquiry to be Maghaiya Doms, Nats, or Rajwârs." Their customs, according to Mr. Risley's account, do not differ from those of Mallâhs.

2. In Oudh, according to Mr. Carnegy,[4] they live chiefly by fishing, cultivation, and making reed mats. They smoke with but do not eat with Mallâhs. They frequent the neighbourhood of lakes and rivers, and are divided into the Eastern and Western branches, which do not intermarry.

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[1] From enquiries at Mirzapur and a note by Bâbu Badri Nâth, Deputy Collector, Kheri.

[2] Manu, *Institutes*, X, 23.

[3] *Tribes and Castes*, I, 166.

[4] *Notes*, 15.

In January they go to the hills to collect catechu (*khair*). They worship the monkey-god Mahâbîr, Satnârâyan, and Devi Pâtan: to the first they offer rice-milk (*khîr*) in October; to the second a mixture of cooked rice and vetch (*urad*), called *phâra*; to the third, cakes (*pûri*) and new rice, coriander, and molasses to Mahâbîr. They eat pork and drink spirits. A woman who sins with one of her own tribe may be absolved by feeding the brethren; but not so if her paramour is of another caste. They are thimble-riggers, ornament-snatchers, swindlers, and impostors. According to Mr. Risley they rank with Binds, Nuniyas, and Pâsis, but nowhere do they rise to the distinction which Binds and Nuniyas sometimes attain, of giving water and certain kinds of sweetmeats to Brâhmans.

3. In Kheri the rule of exogamy bars the line of the maternal uncle and father's sister. They can marry two sisters in succession, but polygamy is forbidden. Infidelity, even intertribal, is reprobated. Marriage takes place at the age of ten or twelve, and is settled by the caste Chaudhari. No money is paid by the relations of either party. Widow-marriage is prohibited; but they can live with a man of the tribe, the phrase used being *ghar-baithna*. The children of such connections are recognised as legitimate, but they are not admitted to full caste privileges. The levirate on the usual terms is permitted. There is no custom of adoption or initiation into caste. Betrothals are made in infancy, and the marriage ceremony is of the standard type, the *bhanwari* or walking round the sacred fire being the binding portion of it. They worship Mahâdeva, Sûrajnârâyan, and Kâli, who receive sacrifices of goats and rams on a Monday. They will not take any food or water from, or smoke with, any other caste. They have given up their occupation of mat-making, and now live by fishing and thieving at fairs.

4. In the returns of the last Census they are classed as a subcaste of Mallâh. The Châin is what is known as an Uchakka, Uthaigîra, or Jebkatra—one who picks pockets and cuts with a little knife or sharp piece of glass the knots in their sheets in which natives tie up their valuables. They frequent fairs and bathing places, and the boys are put on to steal, while the men act as "fences" and engage the attention of the victim, or facilitate the escape of the thief.

CHAMÂR.

Chamâr.[1]—The caste of curriers, tanners, and day-labourers found throughout Upper India. Their name is derived from the Sanskrit *charma-kâra*, a "worker in leather." Traditionally the Chamâr is the offspring of a Chandâla woman by a man of the fisherman caste. The Kârâvara of Manu,[2] "who cuts leather," is descended from a Nishâda father and Vaideha mother. The Nishâda, again, is said to be the child of a Brâhman and a Sûdra woman, and the Vaideha of a Vaisya father and a Brâhman mother. On this Mr. Sherring[3] remarks:—"If the workers in leather of the present day are lineal descendants of the workers in leather in Manu's time, the Chamârs may fairly consider themselves as of no mean degree and may hold up their heads boldly in the presence of the higher castes." Mr. Sherring appears to have been impressed with the high-bred appearance of some Chamârs. This may, perhaps, be to some extent accounted for by *liaisons* with some of the higher castes; but most observers will agree that Mr. Risley[4] is right in his opinion, that "the average Chamâr is hardly distinguishable in point of features, stature, or complexion from the members of those non-Aryan races from whose ranks we should *primâ facie* expect the profession of leather-dressers to be recruited." Mr. Nesfield believes the Chamâr to have sprung out of several different tribes, like the Dom, Kanjar, Hâbûra, Chero, etc., the last remains of which are still outside the pale of Hindu society. "Originally he seems to have been an impressed labourer (*begâr*) who was made to hold the plough for his master, and received in return space to build his mud hut near the village, a fixed allowance of grain for every working day, the free use of wood and grass on the village lands, and the skins and bodies of the animals that died. This is very much the status of the Chamâr at the present day. He is still the field slave, the grass-cutter, and the carrion-eater of the Indian village." But it is, perhaps at present, until the existing evidence from anthropometry is largely increased, premature to express a decided opinion of their origin further than this, that the tribe is in all probability occupational, and largely recruited from non-Aryan elements. Among

[1] Principally based on enquiries at Mirzapur; an elaborate note by Bâbu Vindhyeswari Prasâd, Deputy Collector, Ballia, and notes by the Deputy Inspectors of Schools, Agra, Bareilly, Budâun, Bijnor; Pandit Râmavatâr Pânrê, Karwi, and the Deputy Commissioner, Sultânpur.

[2] *Institutes*, X, 36.

[3] *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I, 392.

[4] *Tribes and Castes*, I, 176.

all the Indo-Aryan races the use of hides for clothing prevailed in primitive times.[1] The Vishnu Purâna[2] enjoins all who wish to protect their persons never to be without leather shoes; and Manu[3] warns the Brâhmans never to use shoes that have been worn by another. In the Râmâyana Bharata places on the vacant throne of Ajudhya a pair of Râma's slippers, and worships them during his exile. The Charmae of Pliny's list have been identified with the inhabitants of Charma Mandala, a district of the West, mentioned in the Mahâbhârat, and also in the Vishnu Purâna under the title of Charma-Khanda.[4]

Traditions of origin.

2. One curious legend of the origin of the tribe has been referred to in connection with the Agarwâla Banyas:— Once upon a time a certain Râja had two daughters, Châmu and Bâmu. These married, and each gave birth to a son who was a prodigy of strength (*pahlwân*). An elephant happened to die in the Râja's palace, and being unwilling that it should be cut up, he searched for a man strong enough to take it out whole and bury it. Châmu undertook and performed the task. Bâmu pronounced him an outcast; so the Banyas are sprung from Bâmu, and the Chamârs from Châmu. Another legend tells how five Brâhman brothers were passing along together. They saw a carcass of a cow lying on the way. Four of them turned aside; but the fifth removed the dead body. His brethren excommunicated him, and since then it has been the business of his descendants to remove the carcasses of cattle. Another tradition makes them out to be the descendants of Nona or Lona Chamârin, who is a deified witch much dreaded in the eastern part of the Province. Her legend tells how Dhanwantari, the physician of the gods, was bitten by Takshaka, the king of the snakes, and knowing that death approached he ordered his son to cook and eat his body after his death, so that they might thereby inherit his skill in medicine.[5] They accordingly cooked his body in a cauldron, and were about to eat it, when Takshaka appeared to them in the form of a Brâhman, and warned them against this act of cannibalism. So they let the cauldron float down the Ganges, and as it floated down, Lona, the

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[1] Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 327, *sq.*
[2] II, 21.
[3] *Loc. cit.* IV, 66.
[4] McCrindle, *Indian Antiquary*, VI, 342, *Note.*
[5] For instances of this belief, see Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, 241.

Chamârin, who was washing on the bank of the river, not knowing that the vessel contained human flesh, took it out and partook of the ghastly food. She at once obtained power to cure diseases, and especially snake-bite. One day all the women were transplanting rice, and it was found that Lona could do as much work as all her companions put together. So they watched her, and when she thought she was alone she stripped off all her clothes (nudity being an essential element in all magic), muttered some spells, and throwing the plants into the air they all settled down in their proper places. Finding she was observed she tried to escape, and as she ran the earth opened, and all the water of the rice fields followed her, and thus was formed the channel of the Loni river in the Unâo District.

Internal structure.

3. The Census Returns show eleven hundred and fifty-six subdivisions of Chamârs : of these the most important locally are—

Sahâranpur—Ajmar, Baliyân, Dharaun, Mochi, Sagahiya, Sirswâl.

Bulandshahr—Bharwariya, Chandauliya or Chandauriya, Lâlman.

Aligarh—Chandauliya, Harphor, Kathiyâra, Mochi, Ojha.

Mathura—Chaurasiya, Kadam, Tingar.

Mainpuri—Loniyân, Pajhasiya, Suji.

Etâwah—Amrutiya, Bisaili, Nakchhikna.

Etah—Nagar, Nunera.

Bareilly—Bardwâri, Bhusiya, Chandauliya, Nona.

Bijnor—Sakt.

Budâun—Baharwâr, Chauhân, Kokapâsi, Uriya.

Morâdâbâd—Bhayâr, Râmanandi.

Cawnpur—Gangapâri, Rangiya.

Fatehpur—Desi, Dhuman, Domar, Panwâr, Rangiya, Turkatwa.

Bânda—Barjatwa, Dhaman, Dhûndhiya, Dhindhor, Janwâr, Rangiya, Seth, Sorahiya, Ujjain.

Hamîrpur—Dhindhor, Rangiya, Umrê.

Allahâbâd—Autarbedi, Chand Râê, Ghatiya, Kahâr, Turkiya.

Lalitpur— Bhadauriya.

Benares—Dhuriya.

Mirzapur—Turkiya.

Jaunpur—Banaudhiya, Turkiya.

Ghâzipur—Kanaujiya.

Ballia—Kanaujiya.

Gorakhpur—Bamhaniya, Belbhariya, Birhariya, Dakkhinâha, Desi, Ghorcharha, Ghosiya, Kanaujiya, Mohahar, Râjkumâri, Sarwariya, Siudas, Tatwa, Uttarâha.

Basti—Birhariya, Chhagoriya, Chamarmangta, Dakkhinâha, Desi, Mohahar, Sarwariya, Tanbuna, Uttarâha.

Azamgarh—Guâl, Kanaujiya.

Lucknow—Chauhân, Dusâdh.

Unâo—Chauhân.

Râê Bareli—Chandel, Dhaman, Dhundhar, Dhuriya, Ghorcharha, Gorait, Harphor, Khalkatiya, Kulha, Nona, Tanbuna.

Sîtapur—Chauhân, Pachhwâhân.

Sultânpur—Banaudhiya, Dhaman, Nona, Tanbuna.

Partâbgarh—Banaudhiya, Chandel, Dhaman, Dhingariya, Jogeya, Nona, Surahiya, Tanbuna, Turkiya.

Bârabanki—Jogiya, Pachhwâhân.

4. In the detailed lists we find the Chamârs of the Province classified into sixteen main sub-castes. Aharwâr (principally found in the Allahâbâd Division), Chamâr (chiefly in Meerut); Chamkatiyas (mostly in Bareilly); Dhusiyas (in Meerut and Benares); Dohars (in Agra, Rohilkhand, Allahâbâd, Lucknow); Golê (in Etâwah); Jaiswâras (strongest in Benares, Allahâbâd, Gorakhpur, and Faizâbâd); Jatwas (in Meerut, Agra and Rohilkhand); Koris (in Faizâbâd, and Gorakhpur); Korchamras (in Lucknow); Kurils (in Lucknow and Allahâbâd); Nigoti (a small sub-caste chiefly in Mainpuri); Patthargotis (in Agra); Purabiyas (in Lucknow and Faizâbâd); Râêdâsis (tolerably evenly distributed throughout the Province), and Sakarwârs (in Agra and Allahâbâd). But there is hardly a District which does not possess, or pretend to possess, the sevenfold division which is so characteristic of castes of this social standing. Thus, in Ballia, we find Dhusiyas, Jaiswâras, Kanaujiyas, Jhojhiyas, Jatuas, Chamartantos, and Nonas; in Agra, Mathuriya, Jadua, Domara, Sakarwâr, Batariya, Guliya, and Chandauriya. Some of these sub-castes are of local origin, some are occupational, and some take their name from their eponymous founder. Thus the Aharwâr are connected with the old town of Ahâr, in the Bulandshahr District, or with the Ahar tribe; the Chamkatiyas take their name from their trade of cutting hides (*châm kâtna*). This sub-caste claims to have produced the saints Râê Dâs and Lona Chamârin. The Jatua or Jatiya have, it is said, some unexplained connection with

the tribe of Jâts. The Kaiyân is also a sub-caste of the Bohras, and is said to be derived from their habit of always saying *kahé*, "what?" "when?" The Jaiswâras trace their origin to the old town of Jais, though some have a ridiculous story that it is a corruption of *Jinswâr*, in the sense that they are agriculturists and grow various crops (*jins*). The Koli or Kori, a term usually applied to the Hindu weaver, as contrasted with the Julâha or Muhammadan weaver, are connected by some with the Kols; by others with the Sanskrit *Kaulika*, in the sense of "ancestral" or a "weaver." They say themselves that they take their name from their custom of wearing unbleached (*kora*) clothes. The Jhusiya, and also perhaps the Dhusiyas, have traditions connecting them with the old town of Jhûsi, near Allahâbâd. There are again the Azamgarhiya of Azamgarh; the Jatlot of Rohilkhand, who like the Jatiya say they are kinsfolk of the Jâts; the Sakarwâr connect themselves with Fatehpur Sikri; in the Central Duâb are the Saksena, who say they come from Sankisa, and the Chanderiya from Chanderi. In Mirzapur we find the Jaiswâra, Jhusiya, Kanaujiya, Kurla, Dusâdhu, kinsmen of the Dusâdhs, the Kori, the Mangta or "beggars," the Dolidhauwa or "palanquin carriers," the Azamgarhiya, and the Banaudhiya, who are residents of Banaudha,—a term which includes the western parts of Jaunpur, Azamgarh and Benares, and the south of Oudh. To these Mr. Sherring adds:—In Benares the Rangua (*rang*, "colour") who are dyers; the Katua or "cutters," (*kâtna*) of leather; and the Tantua, who manufacture strips or strings of leather known as *tânt*. According to the same authority some of these sub-castes are differentiated by function. Thus, many of the Jaiswâra are servants; the Dhusiya or Jhusiya, who trace their origin to Sayyidpur, in Ghâzipur, are shoe-makers and harness makers; the Kori, weavers, grooms, and field labourers; the Kuril, workers in leather; and the Jatua or Jatiya, labourers. The Jaiswâras will not carry burdens on their shoulders, but on their heads, and are liable to excommunication if they violate this rule. They supply most of our syces, and are liable to be expelled if they tie up a dog with a halter, which they worship. Any one who offends in this way is fined five rupees and a dinner to the brethren. The Mangatiyas or Mangtas live on alms, which they take only from the Jaiswârs. In Mirzapur they describe these functions somewhat differently. There the Jaiswâras make shoes and work as day labourers; the Jhusiyas are labourêrs and keep pigs, which is

also the occupation of the Dusâdhu; the Koris make shoes and weave cloth; the Dolidhauwas carry palanquins, the Azamgarhiyas are menial servants of Europeans, and tend swine. The Banaudhiyas tend swine and are day labourers. There is again another local division of the Eastern Chamârs into Uttarâhas or "Northerners," and Dakkinâha or "Southerners," who live respectively north and south of the River Sarju, and do not intermarry. The Chandaur or Chandauriya, of the Central Duâb, claim to be descended from Chânûra, the famous wrestler of Kansa, who was killed by Krishna.

Rules of exogamy.

5. These sub-castes are now all, or practically all, endogamous; but there seems reason for believing that this fissure into endogamous groups may be comparatively recent. Thus there seems no reason to doubt that in the east of the Province the Dhusiya and Kanaujiya intermarry. The rule of exogamy within the sub-caste seems to vary. Those who are more advanced say that marriage is prohibited within seven degrees in the descending line. Others say that they do not intermarry as long as any previous relationship between the parties is known or ascertainable. In Ballia, a careful observer states that they do not marry in a family from which their mother, grandmother, or great grandmother has come; nor do they marry in the family of their parent's sister. A man may marry two sisters, but not a daughter of a brother-in-law. The descendants of one common stock are called Dayâd, and among them marriage is prohibited. Besides, this occupation plays a very important part in marriage alliances: thus, those who remove manure or night-soil cannot intermarry with those who practise the cleanlier duty of horse-keeping. As a rule they marry locally within their own neighbourhood, if a suitable match can be so arranged. If a Chamâr entice away the wife of a clansman, in addition to the punishment inflicted by the tribal council, he is obliged to repay her marriage expenses. If a girl is detected in an intrigue with a caste-fellow, her parents are fined one and-a-quarter rupees, and in Mirzapur the same is the punishment inflicted on a man who marries again while his first wife is alive. In fact, polygamy is discouraged unless the first wife be barren, when a second marriage will usually be sanctioned by the council. Among Chamârs in particular it seems to be believed that rival wives do not get on together; and this sort of quarreling has the special name *sautya dâh*—"the ill-will between the co-wives." Other sayings to the same purport are *Kâth ki saut*

bhi buri hoti hai,"—Even a co-wife of wood is an evil;" and when one wife is being carried to the burning ground, the other says:—*Mor jiya na patiâwe; saut ka pair hilta jâwé,*—"I cannot believe that she is dead; I am sure her legs are shaking still." In Ballia it is said that if a Chamâr marries a second time, the first wife usually leaves him, and that her desertion for this reason is recognised as according to tribal custom.

Tribal council.

6. Chamârs have a particularly well organised and influential tribal council or *panchâyat*. The head of every family is supposed to be a member of the *panchâyat*, and nearly every village has a headman (*pradhân, jamadâr*). In large towns there is often more than one headman. In small matters the village council is competent to decide; but for the settlement of weightier questions the councils of several villages assemble under their own headman, and then a general meeting is formed. Custom varies as to whether the headman is a permanent official or not. The most usual rule is that, if the son of the late headman is competent, he is generally appointed; if he be found guilty of misconduct, the headman is as liable as any of the members to fine and excommunication. The cases which come before the council may be classified as (*a*) cases of illicit sexual relations or violation of tribal rules concerning food, etc.; (*b*) matrimonial disputes; (*c*) petty quarrels, which would not come under the cognizance of a Court; (*d*) disputes about small money transactions; (*e*) cases in connection with *Jajmâni*: this last is very common. Every Chamâr family has assigned to it a certain number of families of higher caste, which are known as its *Jajmân* (Sans. *Yajamâna*): for which its members perform the duties of cutting the cord at births, playing the drum at marriages and other festive occasions, removing and disposing of the carcasses of dead cattle, and in return for these services they receive money fees, cooked food, and sometimes grain, flour, etc. In return they sometimes supply shoes at marriages, a certain number of shoes annually in proportion to the hides they receive, and also do repairs to leather articles, such as well buckets used in cultivation. These rights are very jealously watched, and any interference with the recognised constituents of a family is strongly resented and brought before the tribal council. These orders of the council in the way of fine or entertainment of the clansmen are enforced under penalty of excommunication, of which the most serious result is that, until the ban is removed, all

marriage alliances with the family of the offender are barred, and if any one marries a member of such a family, he at once becomes liable to the same punishment as that which they are undergoing. Every council has a mace-bearer (*chharidâr*), who goes round and calls the members to the meetings, and he is allowed a small money fee for this service. The amount of fine varies from one to five rupees, and it is very seldom that the process of excommunication has to be used to enforce payment. If a person think fit to lay a charge before the council he has to pay a fee of one and-a-quarter rupees to the chairman, who will not take up the case until the fee is paid. This money, which to the east of the Province is known as *nâlbandi* or *lehri*, is spent in purchasing spirits for the refreshment of the members.

Marriage.

7. Chamârs show an increasing tendency to the adoption of infant marriage. The usual age to the east of the Province is between four and eight, and it is not uncommon in Ballia for little girls of three to be married. It is very seldom that a girl remains unmarried after the age of eight. There are no regular marriage brokers employed; the negotiations are conducted by a member of the family who is known as *agua*. As among other Hindu castes marriage is looked upon as a sacrament, and not based on contract. It is complete and binding once the prescribed ceremonies are gone through, and its validity does not depend on the express or implied consent of the parties. But no marriage is carried out without the consent of all the relations, even those who are distant, and the descent and family connections of both bride and bridegroom are carefully enquired into before the engagement is made. In Mirzapur the bride-price payable to her relations is two rupees and five *sers* of coarse sugar. In Ballia they deny that there is a bride-price; but it is admitted that, if the parents of the bride are very poor, the father of the bridegroom may give as much as four rupees to defray the marriage expenses. As has been said, both bride and bridegroom are carefully examined as to whether they are free from any physical defect, and, as a general rule, if such be subsequently ascertained, it would not be a valid ground for annulling the marriage. If the husband become a lunatic after marriage, the wife in Ballia would not be entitled to leave him, provided his relations continued to support her; and in the same way the husband of a mad wife is held bound to support her. Impotence or such mutilation as renders sexual

intercourse impossible is valid grounds for dissolving the marriage. But, as a matter of fact, impotency, proved to the satisfaction of the council, is the only valid reason for a wife abandoning her husband. Divorce in the strict sense of the term is unknown; but a husband may turn his wife out of the house for proved infidelity, while she cannot leave him even if he be unfaithful to her, provided he gives her food and clothes. A woman, whose expulsion has been recognised by the council, can remarry by the *sagâi* or *karâo* form. The offspring of such informal marriages rank equally for purposes of inheritance with those of regularly-married virgin brides. As regards the offspring of illicit connections they follow the caste and tribe of the father unless the mother was a Musalmân, or of some tribe lower than a Chamâr in the social scale. Such people are known by the name of Suratwâl or Suratwâla. When a Chamâr takes a woman from a caste superior to his own, their children will be recognised as members of the caste; but if she be inferior to him, their children are considered illegitimate, and will not inherit. This is always the case when the woman is a Bhangi, Dom, Dhobi, Kûnchbandhua, or Musahar.

The child of a Chamâr at Ballia by a Dusâdh woman is known as Chamar Dusâdha, and this is the only case in which a similar fusion of castes is known to have been recognised. The importance of such facts in connection with the problem of the origin of the mixed castes is obvious.

Widow-marriage and the levirate.

8. Widow marriage is, as has been said, fully recognised; but among Chamârs, who have, like those at Cawnpur, risen in the world, there seems a tendency to prohibit it. The levirate is recognised, but the widow can live only with the younger brother of her late husband. If the widow be young, and her younger brother-in-law of a suitable age, they usually arrange to live together; if this cannot be arranged, she usually marries some widower of the tribe by the *sagâi* or *karâo* form. In this case the brother and father of her late husband have a right to the custody of the children of the first marriage: this rule is relaxed in the case of a baby, which accompanies its mother. In some cases the widow is allowed to take with her to her new home all the children of the first marriage. Any dispute as to matters of this sort is settled by the tribal council. If a widow marry an outsider she loses all claim to the estate of her

first husband, and so do any children she takes with her to the house of her new husband.

In such cases the property passes to the brothers of her first husband. If, on the contrary, she marry her husband's brother, she or her husband will inherit only if there was no male heir by the first marriage. At the same time, though Chamârs are quite ready to lay down definite rules on this subject, the tribal custom does not appear to be quite settled, and when there are in the case of the levirate or widow-marriage two families, the matter is usually left to the council, who make a partition.

Birth ceremonies.

9. Among some branches of the tribe, as, for instance, at Sultânpur, when the first pregnancy of a wife is announced, a ceremony known as *sathâi* is performed, which consists of the distribution of cakes (*pûri*) to the clansmen at their houses. But as Chamârs are particularly exposed to fear of witchcraft and diabolical agency generally, careful precautions are taken to guard the woman from evil. To the east of the Province promises of offerings are made to Vindhybâsini Devi of Bindhâchal, Bânru Bîr, Birtiya, and to the sainted dead of the family if they vouchsafe an easy delivery. Thorny branches of the *bel* tree (*Aegle marmelos*) are hung at the door of the delivery room to intercept evil spirits, who are also scared away by the smoke from an old shoe, which is burnt for that purpose. The woman sits on her heels during accouchment, and is supported by her female relatives. She is attended by a woman of the caste for six or twelve days, which is the period for impurity. When it is announced that the child is a boy, the women sing the *sohar* or song of rejoicing. Much of this consists of the invocation of *Mâta*, the goddess of small-pox. After the cord is cut, if the child be a boy, the mother is bathed in warm water; if a girl, she gets a cold bath. After the mother and baby are bathed, she gets a meal consisting of molasses, turmeric, and oil, and after twelve hours she is given some *halwa* sweetmeat. Next day she gets her ordinary food. All through the period of impurity the singing of the *sohar* is repeated. At the door of the delivery room (*saûri*; Sans: *sûtaka*) a fire is kept constantly burning, and into it some *ajwain* (*lingusticum ajowan*) is occasionally thrown. At least for the first six days a light is kept constantly burning. On the night of the sixth day the women sit up all night and worship Shashti or Chhathi, the goddess of the sixth, with an offering of cakes made of barley-flour and

rice boiled with sugar. These are presented in a leaf platter (*dauna*), and then eaten by the members of the household. An iron cutting instrument is also kept near the mother and child during the period of pollution. If the child be a boy the father is expected to entertain his friends which is usually done on the twelfth day.

On that day the parents or brothers of the mother—if they can afford it—send her a coat and cap made of red cloth for the baby, and a yellow loin-cloth for the mother. This present is sometimes accompanied by a special sort of sweetmeat known as *suthaura* (*sonth*, dry ginger) made of sugar, ginger, and other spices; sometimes with the *suthaura* is sent some caudle (*achhwâni*). There is no distinct trace of the couvade, except that the husband has to take the first sup of the cleansing draught given to the mother, and that he does not shave for six days after his wife's delivery. There are no special ceremonies in connection with twins, but they are considered inauspicious. If during the pregnancy of a woman an eclipse happen to occur, she is made to sit quiet while it lasts with a stone pestle in her hand, and is not allowed to move or touch any cutting instrument. If she move, it is believed that her child will be deformed, and if she touch a cutting implement that it will be born mutilated. The child is named by the senior member of the family. On the fourth or fifth day after the mother rejoins her family, the child's head is shaved (*mûnran*), and when about six months old, it is fed for the first time on grain (*annaprâsan*); it is at this time that it is usually named. At the age of five or seven its ears are bored (*kanchhedan*), and this constitutes the initiation: after this the child must conform to the rules of the tribe regarding food.

Adoption.

10. When it is proposed to adopt a boy, the clansmen are invited and in their presence the parents make over the boy to the adopter with these words, —"You were my son by a deed of evil (*pâp*); now you are the son of so-and-so by a virtuous act (*dharm*)." As the boy is accepted, the members of the caste sprinkle rice over him, and the adopter gives a feast.

Betrothal.

11. The customs of betrothal vary somewhat in different places. Thus, in Mirzapur, when a marriage is proposed, the bridegroom's father with his uncle and other near relations visit the bride. She is carefully examined

to make sure that she has no physical defect, and, if approved, the boy's father gives her a rupee, and some coarse sugar is distributed. Then her father entertains the party. Next follows the regular betrothal (*barrekhi*). This generally takes place at the village liquor shop, where the two fathers exchange platters (*dauna*) full of liquor five times, and at the last turn the bride's father puts a rupee into the cup of his relation-to-be. Liquor is served round, two-thirds of the cost of which is paid by the father of the boy, and one-third by the father of the girl. On this day the date of the wedding is fixed by the Pandit. In Ballia, on the contrary, the parents and relations of the girl go to the boy's house and present him with a rupee and loin-cloth. This is known as *paupûja*, or "the worshipping of the feet" of the bridegroom.

When these presents are received in the presence of the members of the caste the engagement is complete.

Marriage ritual.

12. Marriage is of two kinds—the *shâdi*, *charh*, or *charhaua*, which is the respectable form, and the *dola*, used by poor people. In Mirzapur the wedding invitation is distributed by the father's sister's husband of the boy. The marriage pavilion (*mânro*) is then erected. In the Gangetic valley it consists of four bamboos; Chamârs above the hills make it of nine poles of the *siddh* tree (*Hardwickia binata*) in obvious imitation of the Dravidian races by whom they are surrounded. On this day the Pandit ties round the wrist of the bride an amulet formed of mango leaves and thread. The next day is devoted to feeding the clansmen, and cakes of various kinds are offered to the sainted dead. Then follows the *matmangara* ceremony, which is done, as already described in the case of the Bhuiyas. Then as the procession starts, the bridegroom's mother does the wave ceremony (*parachhan*) to keep off evil spirits. With the same object the bride's mother puts some lamp-black on the bride's eyelids, and hangs a necklace of beads round her neck. At the same time, as an assertion or acknowledgment of maternity, she offers the girl her breast. The bridegroom's father is expected to take with the procession five ankle rings (*mathiya*) for the bride. The marriage is then performed by making the pair revolve five times round the ploughbeam (*haris*), which is fixed in the centre of the pavilion. There also is erected a rough wooden representation of a flock of parrots (*suga*) sitting on a tree. When the marriage is over all present scramble for the wooden parrots; but the pole on

which they were hung is carefully kept for a year. During the marriage, a special dance, known as the *natua nâch*, is performed by members of the tribe, some of whom dress in women's clothes. Chamârs can give no explanation of this practice, which may possibly be a symbolical ceremony done with the hope that the first child may be a boy, as the Argive brides used to wear false beards when they slept with their husbands.[1] It is specially to be noticed that Brâhmans are not employed in the marriage ceremony. The whole business is done by the uncle and brother-in-law (*phûpha, bahnoi*) of the bridegroom. Before they leave the pavilion a goat or ram is sacrificed to Paramesari Devi, and the flesh is cooked at the marriage feast. The marriage ends with a general carouse at the nearest liquor shop.

13. The *dola* marriage is done in quite a different way. The following is the ritual at Ballia. The friends and relations are invited to attend at the bridegroom's house, and they are supplied with a meal known as *kalewa*, which ordinarily consists of rice and pulse or parched grain (*sattu*) or wheat cakes. The men then proceed to the bride's house and halt about a mile off to take refreshment. The boy's father subscribes twelve pice and the others two pice each with which liquor is purchased. The sum given by the boy's father is known as *batsâri* or *nisâri*, and that contributed by his friends *behri*. After drinking they go to the bride's house, which they reach usually about sunset. There the guardian of the boy pays twenty-four pice, known as *neg*, to the father of the bride, who supplements it with sufficient to provide another drink for the party. Then they are all fed, and next morning they go away with the bride. The boy's guardian presents two sheets (*sâri*), one for the bride and one for her mother, and gives a couple of rupees to her father, who in return gives a loin cloth (*dhoti*) and a sort of handkerchief worn over the shoulder (*kandhâwar*) to the boy, as well as a sheet for his mother. The barber, washerman and village watchman receive a present of two annas each on this occasion. Sometimes the owner of the village charges a rupee as *marwachh* or *marwâni* (*mânro*, the nuptial shed), which is paid by the father of the bridegroom, and may perhaps be a survival of a commutation of the *jus primae noctis*, but is more probably one of the ordinary village dues levied from tenants by the landlord.

[1] Frazer, *Totemism*, 79: *Folklore*, II, 131.

This, however, is not invariably taken, and in return he usually supplies some wood, etc., for the wedding. The bride is supplied by her guardian with a sheet (*sâri*), brass bracelets (*mâthi*), and anklets (*pairi*), made of bell metal. Her brother or some other person as her representative accompanies her to the house of the bridegroom. It is a peculiar custom that on this occasion he always walks behind the bride. In the *dola* form of marriage the bridegroomor his father very seldom goes to the house of the bride. The duty of escorting the bride home is left to some relation or clansman.

14. After the bride has arrived that very day or very soon after the date of the wedding (*lagan*) is fixed. The family barber takes ten pieces of turmeric, of which he gives five to the bride and five to the bridegroom. With this he brings one and-a-quarter *sers* of paddy, which he divides equally between them. The turmeric is ground into a paste, which is rubbed on the foreheads of the pair, and the paddy is parched and made into *lawa* for use in the ceremony of *lawa parachhana*. This part of the ritual is called *haldi* or *haldidhân*. The next day or a day after comes the ceremony of *matkor* or "the digging of the earth." This commences by the bridegroom's mother worshipping a drum (*dhol*). If his mother be dead, this is done by his aunt or some other elderly female relation.

Turmeric and rice are ground into a paste (*aipan*). The woman smears her hand in this and applies it to the drum. This is known as *thappa lagâna*. A leaf of betel, a betel nut, and two pice are also placed on the drum, which are the perquisite of the owner. Five marks (*tîka*) are then made on the drum with vermilion, and the women form a procession and go into a field, led by the drummer playing away vigorously. The senior woman then worships Dharti Mâta or Mother Earth, and digs five spadesful of earth, which are brought home and placed in the courtyard. In the middle of the yard are placed an earthen pot full of water with its top covered with a mango leaf and an earthen lid. Near it is a ploughbeam (*haris*) and a green bamboo fixed in the earth. The earthen pot is known as *kalsa*. In the evening there is a feast known as *matkora*. It may be noticed here that there are in all five marriage feasts—the *haldidhân* and *matkora* already described and the *byâh*, *marjâd* and *kankan* or *bidâi*. From the commencement of the *haldi* ceremony up to the end of the marriage ceremonies the women sing songs both morning and evening.

15. The actual marriage always takes place at night. No Brâh-

man is called in, but the village Pandit is consulted as to the auspicious time, and he receives two pice for his trouble. For the marriage a square (*chauk*) is marked out in the courtyard with barley-flour, and the bride and bridegroom are seated within it, the bridegroom on a stool (*pîrha*) or on a mat made of leaves (*patal*). The service is done by some one in the caste who knows the ritual. He begins by the *gotra uchchâra* or recital of the names of the couple, their fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers. Then the marriage jar (*kalsa*) is worshipped, and an offering of butter, rice, and barley is made to the fire which is lighted close beside the jar, and a similar offering is made to a fire which is lighted in the oratory (*deokuri*) sacred to the household god. The bride's father then gives her away to the bridegroom (*kanyâdân*). He accepts the gift and marks her forehead with a line of vermilion, which is the binding part of the ceremony. The ceremonies in the *dola* and *charhaua* marriage are practically identical. The only difference is that in the former the ceremony is performed at the house of the bridegroom; in the latter at that of the bride.

Death ceremonies.

16. Those who have been initiated into the Siva Nârâyani or Sri Nârâyani, Kabîrpanthi or Râmanandi sects are buried, unless before death they have expressed a wish to be cremated. Their corpses are removed to the burial-ground on a gaily decorated bier without any marks of mourning and accompanied with shouts of *Râm! Râm! Sat hai.* "The Lord is the Lord of Truth." Ordinary Chamârs are burnt in the usual way. Those who are poor only scorch the face of the corpse (*mukhâg*). The ashes, when the body is properly cremated, are thrown into some neighbouring stream. The chief mourner who has fired the pyre on the day after the cremation places outside the house an earthen pot full of milk and rice gruel (*mânr*) with a pitcher of water for the use of the disembodied spirit. On the third day after death comes the *tirâtri* ceremony which consists of the offering of oblations and cakes of barley-flour (*pinda*) to the departed soul. On the tenth day (*daswân*), this ceremony is repeated, and the castemen are fed. On that day the person who fired the pyre (*daniha*) is purified by being shaved. On the eleventh the utensils and private property of the dead man are made over to his sister's husband (*bahnoi*), who acts as the officiant priest—perhaps a survival of the matriarchate. In some places, however, and particularly where Chamârs are becoming rich and influential, the Mahâbrâhman

offers the sacred balls (*pinda*). When the service is done by a member of the tribe he says,—*Âr Ganga, pâr Ganga; Bihâri ka beta, Râmbakhsh ka nâti, pinda det; Ganga Mâi bujbuji det*—"Ganges on this side, Ganges on that side; the son of Bihâri (or whatever his name may be) the grandson of Râmbakhsh offers the cakes, but mother Ganges gives only bubbles in return." Some plant a few stalks of grass near a tank as an abode for the spirit which wanders about until the funeral ceremonies are complete. On this water is poured daily for ten days. Some again give a tribal feast on the twelfth, some on the sixteenth day after death. On the anniversary of a death twelve balls are offered, and, if the family can afford it, the clansmen are fed. Some, again, after the usual balls and oblations during the fortnight (*pitrapaksha*) sacred to the dead, join in removing thee orpse, and each of the five touches his mouth with a burning brand. By this procedure none of the five incurs any personal defilement.

Religion.

17. Chamârs in the main conform to the popular type of village Hinduism. To the east of the Province all, except the richer and more advanced members of the caste, dispense with the services of Brâhmans, except in so far as they usually consult them about the marriage auspices To the west their marriage ceremonies are performed under the guidance of the low Gurra or Chamarwa Brâhmans. To the east, as they become rich and influential, they employ Sarwariya or Kanaujiya Brâhmans of a degraded type. To the west the mourners accompanying the corpse address the Creator in the words—*Tûhi hai; tain ne paida kiya, aur tain ne mâr liya.* "Thou art He; Thou hast created and then destroyed." In Rohilkhand their clan deities are Bhawâni, Jagiswâr or "the lord of the world," Kâla Deo, Gaja Dewat, Zâhir Pîr, and Nagarsen. In Agra they call themselves of the Gorakhi sect, and worship Devi, Chamara, and Kuânwâla, "he of the well." In Ballia they usually worship a deity whom they call Parameswar or "the Supreme Being." The godling is supposed to dwell in a mound of earth erected in a room of the house. On the day of the Dasahra festival seven wheaten cakes and some *halwa* are offered. and some cloves and cardamoms are ground up and mixed in water, which is poured on the ground. This is known as *chhâk*. Sometimes the offering consists of a young pig and some spirits. When a person is absent from home, he does not erect any mound or oratory (*deokur*) until he returns. In Mirzapur they have a special

deity known as Terha Deva or "the crooked one;" they also worship the Vindhyabâsini Devi, of Bindhâchal; Bânru Bîr, a demon of whom they know nothing but the name; Sairi Devi, Birtiya, and the sainted dead (*purkha log*). All these deities are worshipped in times of trouble with the sacrifice of a young pig, the meat of which is eaten by the worshippers and with a libation of spirits. On the Pachainyân festival milk and parched grain are offered at the hole occupied by the domestic snake. Those who have no children fast and worship the sun godling, Sûraj Nârâyan, in the hope of offspring. Fire and the moon are also occasionally worshipped. To the east their chief festivals are the snake feast at the Pachainyân; the Kajari, which is a sort of saturnalia held in the rainy season, when women drink and the rules of modesty are held in abeyance; the Tîj, on which women fast for the welfare of their husbands and sons, and next daye at cakes (*pûri*); the Phagua or Holi. A second wife wears an image representing the deceased, known as *sirajna*, round the neck, and when she puts on fresh clothes or jewelry she touches them first with the image as a sign that they have been offered to the spirit of her predecessor. If this be not done, it is believed that the offended spirit of the first wife will bring disease or death.

The Siunârâyani or Srinârâyani sect.

18. But the most remarkable form of worship is that of the deistic, revivalist sect of the Srinârâyani or Siunârâyani. The founder of this sect was Râêdâs or Ravidâs, who was a disciple of Râmanand. Curiously enough in the Dakkhin quite a different legend has been invented and the so-called Rohidas is said to have been born at Chambhargonda now Ahmadnagar, and is described as a contemporary of Kabîr in the twelfth or thirteenth century.[1] The Northern India legend, as recorded in the commentary of Priya Dâs on the Bhaktmâla, tells how a Brâhman disciple of Râmanand used daily to receive the necessary alms from the houses of five Brâhmans. This was cooked by his preceptor, and offered to the Creator before being eaten. One day as it was raining and the houses of the Brâhmans were at a distance, the Brahmachâri accepted the supplies from a Banya. When Râmanand cooked it, the Divine Light refused to accept it, as it was unclean. The preceptor made enquiries and discovered that the Banya had money dealings with Chamârs

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVI, 71.

and that the food was hence defiled. Râmanand, in his displeasure caused his disciple to be reborn in the womb of a Chamârin; and so it happened. When the infant was born, remembering its past life, it refused to suck from the breast of its mother because she was not initiated. Then a voice from Heaven spoke to Râmanand and warned him that the punishment he had inflicted on his disciple was disproportionate to his offence. He was directed to go to the hut of the Chamâr and initiate the whole family. He was compelled to obey this order. The child was named by his parents Râêdâs. When he reached the age of eighteen he began to worship a clay image of Râma and Jânaki. This was displeasing to his father, who turned him out of doors. Râêdâs then set up business as a shoemaker and continued his mode of worship. He used to present all wandering ascetics with new shoes. One day a saint appeared before him and gave him the Philosopher's stone. Râêdâs took no notice of it; but the Saint touched his shoemaker's knife with it and turned it into gold. This had no effect on Râêdâs, and the saint finally left the stone in the thatch of his hut. Returning some time after he found Râêdâs in poor circumstances, and learned to his surprise that he had not used the stone. The saint then promised that before morning five gold coins would appear in front of the divine image which Râêdâs worshipped These he also refused to accept. But he was warned in a dream not to continue to despise wealth; so he converted his shed into a magnificent temple and established regular worship. This enraged the Brâhmans, who appealed to the Râja in a Sanskrit verse which means—"Where unholy things are worshipped and holy things are defiled, three things follow—Famine, Death, and Fear."

19. Râêdâs was summoned before the Râja and ordered to exhibit his miraculous powers. He replied that he could do only one miracle—that the Sâlagrâma or ammonite representing Vishnu would at his word leave its place and come down on the palm of his hand. The Râja ordered the Brâhmans to perform a similar miracle. They failed and Râêdâs succeeded. This miracle so affected the Râni Jhâli, whom one version of the legend makes out to have been a Princess of Chithor, that she became initiated. On this the Brâhmans refused to eat in the palace, on the ground that it had been defiled, and some raw grain was given them which they began to cook in the garden. But as they were eating they suddenly saw Râêdâs sitting and eating between two Brâhmans. So they fell at

his feet, and then he cut his skin and showed them under it his Brâhmanical cord; so he was proved to have been a Brâhman in his former life.

20. The Grantha or Scriptures of the sect are believed to have existed for eleven hundred and forty-five years, but to have been unintelligible until Sîtala, an inspired Sannyâsi, translated them. The present recension is the work of the Râjput Sivanârâyana, of Ghâzipur, who wrote it about 1735 A.D. The most important of these works are the Gurunyâsa and the Santa Virasa. The former is compiled from the Purânas, and gives an account of the ten Avatâras of Vishnu or Nârâyana in fourteen chapters, of which the first six treat of the author, of faith, of the punishment of sinners, of virtue, of a future state and of discipline. The latter is a treatise on moral sentiments. The opening lines are,—"The love of God and his knowledge are the only true understanding."[1]

21. Siunârâyanis have a meeting house known as Dhâmghar, or "House of Paradise;" Somaghar, or "House of meeting," and Girja Ghar, or church, a word derived through the Portuguese *igreja* from the Greek *ekklesia*. It usually contains pictures of the Saints Gorakhnâth, Râêdâs, Kabîrdâs, Sûrdâs, and others. The scriptures are kept rolled up in cloth on a table at the East. They are carefully watched and never given to any one but members of their own congregation. They meet here on Friday evenings, and any educated man among them reads and expounds passages from the Gurunyâsa. The only occasion when the Santavirâsa is read is at death; it is then recited from the moment of dissolution until the corpse is buried. They are not allowed to eat meat or drink spirits before going to the weekly service, but this is the only restriction. On the Basant Panchami, or fifth light half of Mâgh, a Halwâi is called in, who cooks some *halwa* sweetmeat (which is known as *manbhog*, or "food of the mind") in a large boiler (*karhâo*). This is first offered to Siunârâyana before the Scriptures of the sect, and until this is done no Chamâr is allowed to touch it. The explanation of this is that Siunârâyana was a Chhatri, and it would be defilement to him if any Chamâr touched it before dedication. An offering of the same kind is made to Guru Nânak by the Sikhs.[2]

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[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I, 178.

[2] Ibbetson, *Panjâb Ethnography*, para. 265.

22. The title Bhagat which they take does not imply that they abstain from flesh and spirits, but they are monotheists (Sans: *bhakta*, "devoted"). They say that their chief conventicle is at a place called Barsari, in the Ghâzipur District, about which they repeat the verse,—"As pâs Chandrawâr men, Ghâzipur Sarkâr; Bindu nirauni karat sab Bâgh Râê ke pâs." "In the neighbourhood of Chandrawâr, in the Ghâzipur District, all meet together and discuss the doctrine of Unity. This place is near the Râê's garden."

23. Persons of any caste may join the Siunârâyani sect. When a candidate wishes to affiliate himself, they first warn him of the difficulties before him and test him for a few days, when, if approved, he is directed to bring a present according to his means to the headman, known as Guru or Mahant. The candidate comes before the Guru, who sits with the scriptures opposite him, and first makes a sacrifice by burning camphor and *dason*, or ten kinds of perfumes. These are thrown on fire, and the sweet savour which arises is their form of worship. Then some camphor is burnt before the scriptures, and all present rub the smoke over their faces. The candidate then washes the big toe of the Guru and drinks the water (*charanamrita*). Next the Guru recites privately into his ear the formula (*mantra*) of initiation, which is carefully concealed from outsiders. After this the initiate distributes sweets to the congregation. He is then considered Sant or initiate, and receives a small book which he is permitted to study, and which serves as a pass of admission to future meetings. If he loses it he has to appear at the next Basant Panchami meeting, and pay two and-a-half rupees for a new copy, as well as a fine of five rupees for his negligence. At these meetings there is music and singing, men and women sit apart, and after the Mahant has finished his reading, he receives the contributions of the faithful. They are not allowed to drink in the Dhâmghar, but they may smoke *gânja*, *bhang*, or tobacco there. They never practise exorcisms (*ojhâi*), nor do they get into a state of religious frenzy and deliver oracles. As already stated the dead are buried with signs of rejoicing. Some camphor is burnt in the grave before the body is laid there, and then all present join in filling up the grave. All initiates, male and female, are buried in this way. Children and persons not initiated are interred without any ceremony. If the wife of an initiate die, her relatives can take away her body and cremate it. They marry like ordinary Chamârs, and get a Brâhman to fix a lucky time. A similar movement among the Chamârs of

Bilâspur, in the Central Provinces[1] took place under Ghâsidâs between 1820 and 1830, and in Bikâner under Lâlgir about fifty years ago. Their sole worship is said to consist in calling on the invisible lord (*Alakh, Alakh*).

Demonology.

24. The ordinary Chamâr believes that disease, death, and all troubles are due to demoniacal influence. When a person falls ill a sorcerer (*ojha*) is called in, and he points out the particular evil spirit which is responsible for the mischief, and the appropriate sacrifice by means of which he can be appeased. In the same way barrenness in women is held to be due to her possession by some demon. A widow is very careful to worship the spirit of her deceased husband. In this case, as with a deceased wife, no image is used, but a piece of ground is plastered, and on it is placed a new loin cloth (*dhoti*) and a waist chain (*kardhani*). Sometimes a pig is sacrificed. The soul of a dead husband is called *manushya deva* or "the man-god." Persons who die in any sudden or unusual way become malevolent spirits (*bhût*), and must be carefully propitiated. Their offering is a young pig and an oblation of spirits. Chickens are offered to Ghâzi Miyân, goats to Devi, and pigs to the family godlings and evil spirits. These are offered at the house shrine, while offerings to godlings and saints are made at their temples or tombs. The regular feast in honour of the dead is the Mahâlâya Amâwas, Pitrbisarjan, or Pitrasaunan. Among trees they respect the *pîpal tulasi*, and *nîm*. The *pîpal* is the abode of Vasudeva, the *tulasi* of Lakshmi, the *nîm* of Sîtala. Mother Ganges (*Ganga mâi*) is a special object of reverence. The favourite method of propitiating evil spirits of those who have died by accident is to pour spirits near the place occupied by the Bhût, and to light some *gânja* in a pipe-bowl. For ghosts of high caste persons, the proper offering is a fire sacrifice (*hom*). The ordinary malignant evil spirit is called Bhût or Daitya; that of a Muhammadan Shahîd Mard; the Jinn is higher and more powerful than these. To the Shahîd Mard and Jinn the sacrifice is not a pig but a fowl and flowers.

Social regulations.

25. The Chamâr from his occupation and origin ranks even below the non-Aryan tribes who have been quite recently adopted into Hinduism. He is considered impure because he eats beef, pork, and fowls, all abomination

[1] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 100, *sqq*.

to the orthodox Hindu. He will eat cattle which die a natural death, and numerous cases have occurred where Chamârs have poisoned cattle for the sake of the hides and flesh. He keeps herds of pigs, and the Chamrauti or Chamâr quarter in a Hindu village is generally a synonym for a place abounding in all kinds of abominable filth, where a clean living Hindu seldom, unless for urgent necessity, cares to intrude. One proverb describes a man setting up to be Gopâl, a respectable Krishna worshipper, while his pots and pans are as filthy as those of a Chamâr (*Nem tem Gopál aisan ; hânri charui Chamâr aisan*), and another says,—"The worthy are dying and the unworthy living because Chamârs are drinking Ganges water,"—*Lajálu maré, dhithdu jiyê ; Ganga jal Chamârân piyê*). This repugnance to him is increased by his eating the leavings of almost any caste except Dhobis and Doms, and by the pollution which attaches to his wife (Chamârin, Chamâin), who acts as midwife and cuts the umbilical cord. But in spite of his degraded social position, the Chamâr is proud and punctilious and very conservative as regards the rights and privileges which he receives in the village community. Their women wear, at least in the east of the Province, no noserings; they have metal bangles (*mathiya*) on their wrists; arm ornaments (*bâju*) and heavy bell-metal anklets (*pairi*). Chamârs swear by Râma, the Guru, the Ganges, Mahâdêva Bâba, the shoemaker's last (*pharuhi*), and their sons' heads. They will not touch a Dom or Dhobi, nor the wife of a younger brother or nephew, nor will they call their wives by their names. Women eat after the men. They salute relatives and clansmen in the forms *Râm ! Râm !* and *pâélagi*.

Occupations.

26. The Chamâr practises a variety of occupations. His primary business is curing skins and shoemaking, and the latter business has developed what is really a separate caste, that of the Mochi (Sans : *mochika*) ; in a village he provides all leathern articles used in husbandry, such as whips, thongs, well buckets, and the like. As a rule, he has a circle of constituents (*jajmân*) whose dead cattle he receives, and to whom he gives leather and a certain number of shoes in return. His wife has similarly a certain number of families to whom she acts as midwife and performs various menial services at marriages and festivals. The Chamâr himself is the general village drudge (*begâr, pharait*) runs messages, and does odd jobs, such as thatching when he is called Gharâmi, and the like. Sometimes he receives wages in cash or kind, but perhaps more generally an allowance of

grain per plough belonging to the family he serves, or a patch of rent-free land. Another part of his duties is to beat drums and blow trumpets during a marriage or when cholera or other epidemic disease is being exorcised from the village. Large numbers of Chamârs take to field labour, act as ploughmen, carters, grooms, or emigrate to towns, where they do various kinds of unskilled work. In Partâbgarh they are said to have usurped the business of carrying palanquins, the hereditary occupation of Kahârs. The extension of the leather trade at Cawnpur has made it a great Chamâr centre. Many of them have become wealthy and aim at a standard of social respectability much higher than their rural brethren, and some have begun even to seclude their women which every native does as soon as he commences to rise in the world.

27. The system of tanning pursued by the ordinary village Chamâr is of the most primitive kind. The skins are placed in a pit and covered with water, containing lime (*chúna*) and impure carbonate of soda (*sajji*); after ten days they are taken out and the hair removed with an iron scraper (*khurpi*). They are again removed, sewn up in the form of a bag, which is again filled with the bark solution, and hang on a tree or stand. This process lasts five days, when the tanning is considered complete [1]

[1] Hoey, *Monograph*, 90, *sqq*. It is in curious contrast to the Homeric system of preparing hides, which consisted in rubbing with fat and stretching. *Iliad*, XVII, 383.

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Distribution of Chamârs by sub-castes according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Aharwâr.	Chamâr.	Chamkatiya.	Dhusiya.	Dohar.	Gola.	Jaiswâr.	Jatwa.	Kori.	Korchamra.	Kuril.	Nigoti.	Pathargoti.	Purabiya.	Râidâsi.	Sakarwâr.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dûn . . .	358	4,356	...	...	48	...	759	622	530	107	127	...	...	...	1,478	...	8,108	16,493
Sahâranpur . . .	...	145,175	...	8,118	...	...	812	3,092	20	...	47	...	...	...	1,400	...	29,062	187,726
Muzaffarnagar . .	...	87,595	...	5	...	...	17	16,478	...	...	2	...	...	3	5,152	...	2,005	111,257
Meerut . . .	...	31,219	...	666	...	...	2,014	175,159	...	9	...	...	...	...	68	...	7,900	217,035
Bulandshahr . .	5,185	6,068	...	3,914	...	...	...	87,319	...	...	...	...	...	...	15,860	...	44,732	163,078
Aligarh. . . .	...	800	...	...	...	...	...	64,523	..	...	...	...	...	...	3,697	...	94,614	163,634
Mathura . . .	34	78	...	..	...	...	1,013	101,714	...	...	331	...	51	246	366	...	3,155	107,024
Agra	...	...	...	36	239	...	1,546	159,093	8	...	53	214	522	45	450	746	10,649	164,565
Farrukhâbâd . .	15,550	...	...	30	23,638	...	625	47,919	408	324	378	...	..	...	12	...	932	89,216
Mainpuri . . .	549	...	...	359	73	...	23	84,207	...	68	19	521	19	...	1	612	14,751	101,202
Etâwah. . . .	499	...	601	159	56,427	3,661	1	45,991	...	...	584	...	..	...	4	1,078	2,225	111,430
Etah	22	...	...	...	...	11	...	88,156	...	...	34	...	...	9	351	...	797	89,380
Bareilly. . . .	1,430	...	65,925	...	6	...	...	19,713	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,061	...	4,067	95,142
Bijnor	...	113,971	...	...	...	...	20	8,743	...	...	1	...	...	...	994	...	959	124,688
Budâun . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	629	120,350	...	...	...	...	...	...	762	...	2,280	124,031
Moradâbâd . .	...	12,631	...	...	...	...	111	157,964	95	...	...	...	...	...	1,438	...	6,308	178,547
Shâhjahânpur . .	...	...	...	...	51,632	...	8,418	35,252	...	...	5	...	...	358	90	...	1,044	96,799
Pilibhît . . .	...	...	...	...	14,600	...	184	17,600	...	...	...	...	...	404	...	...	150	32,938

Cawnpur . . .	1,197	...	...	...	26,082	...	2,446	1,953	...	9	66,890	...	...	...	11,804	...	39,478	149,859
Fatehpur . . .	29	...	1,882	...	...	...	25,016	642	...	1,117	14,713	...	...	...	5,711	...	22,615	71,731
Bânda	11,220	...	...	...	5,589	...	107	...	...	...	3,652	...	...	...	8,888	421	80,847	110,716
Hamîrpur . . .	67,619	...	...	24	697	...	95	290	...	...	2,470	...	..	...	65	1,962	1,721	74,919
Allahabâd . . .	2	...	137	...	...	...	60,438	...	685	2,654	139	...	...	...	17,355	...	64,508	145,942
Jhânsi	49,940	...	27	...	2,505	...	468	1,261	...	...	7	...	...	...	228	...	1,942	56,378
Jâlaun	2,417	...	...	...	27,280	...	17	6,220	...	...	14	...	...	...	128	23	25,500	61,599
Lalitpur . . .	32,419	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	1	...	...	...	43	...	184	...	1,112	33,768
Benares . . .	...	...	...	31,377	...	...	67,071	...	....	...	232	..	...	...	1,113	...	4,475	104,268
Mirzapur . . .	...	...	...	154	48	...	117,900	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	6,295	...	22,897	147,295
Jaunpur . . .	...	...	...	344	...	...	184,538	...	...	...	250	...	...	1,0	643	...	1,180	187,967
Ghâzipur . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,766	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	576	...	126,629	133,971
Ballia	...	...	...	44,932	...	...	276	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	101	...	23,483	68,792
Gorakhpur . . .	...	...	69	11,445	...	...	42,798	580	1,756	...	1,944	...	...	...	1,829	...	300,810	361,231
Basti	...	...	1,034	192	...	...	77,285	...	50,931	4,253	1,049	...	...	261	53,763	...	88,238	276,966
Azamgarh . . .	...	...	...	502	151	...	162,916	...	...	372	607	...	...	...	2,473	...	131,842	298,863
Kumaun . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	203	203
Garhwâl . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	...	...	24
Tarâi	...	482	...	...	...	..	198	18,786	...	...	...	...	...	...	142	...	1,937	21,545
Lucknow . . .	92	...	40	609	...	...	125	372	28	47	58,688	...	...	3,605	893	97	4,242	68,848
Unâo	...	...	...	...	...	...	46	...	171	...	95,079	...	...	2,023	...	...	1,372	98,691
Râê Bareli . . .	1,671	1,224	6,754	...	1,465	...	14,610	2,877	1,339	15,727	23,850	...	...	1,135	16,503	...	9,508	96,663

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Distribution of Chamars by sub-castes according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Aharwâr.	Chamàr.	Chamkatia.	Dhusyia.	Dohar.	Gola.	Jaiswâr.	Jatwa.	Kori.	Korchamra.	Kuril.	Nigoti.	Pathargoti.	Purabiya.	Râêdâsi.	Sakarwâr.	Others.	Total.
Sitapur . . .	...	...	906	...	4	...	231	891	86	34	1,594	...	...	121,998	162½	...	19,164	145,070
Hardoi . . .	3,715	...	...	...	103,635	...	47	4,513	...	...	67,058	...	...	8,513	57	...	433	187,971
Kheri . . .	...	...	...	...	35,932	...	231	408	...	11	163	...	...	77,354	8	...	3,748	117,855
Faizâbâd . . .	...	...	1,743	...	...	...	97,781	1,177	42,260	...	987	...	...	2,367	15,599	...	5,821	165,735
Gonda	...	...	62	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,170	...	...	14,634	6,439	...	18,330	41,635
Bahrâich . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	79	7	1	...	194	...	...	20,475	14	...	50,571	73,341
Sultânpur . . .	...	...	5,017	...	...	...	22,983	...	96,342	107	...	...	...	...	15,197	...	8,934	148,473
Partâbgarh . . .	...	...	143	...	...	...	15,464	...	39,961	686	301	...	...	...	15,103	...	38,904	109,988
Bârabanki . . .	...	...	325	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	24,280	...	...	35,205	2,590	...	18,488	81,536
Total .	193,948	403,599	84,665	102,806	349,451	3,872	916,125	1,264,878	234,622	25,515	367,913	735	635	289,647	220,073	4,939	1,352,570	5,816,053

Chamar Gaur.—A sept of Râjputs of whom Sir H. M. Elliot[1] writes—"Among the Gaur Râjputs the Chamar Gaur who are sub-divided into Râja and Râê, rank the highest, which is accounted for in this way:—When trouble fell upon the Gaur family, one of their ladies, far advanced in pregnancy, took refuge in a Chamâr's house, and was so grateful to him for his protection, that she promised to call her child by his name. The Bhâts and Brâhmans to whom the others fled do not appear to have had similar forbearance, and hence, strange as it may appear, the sub-divisions called after their name rank below the Chamar Gaur." Pargana Sândîla, of Hardai, was, so it is said, occupied by Thatheras,[2] who by one theory are identical with the Bhars, and then Chamar Gaurs came in from near Bijnaur in the time of Jay Chand. They came in under two chiefs, bringing with them Dikshit Brâhmans, who up to the present are their recognised priests. They differ entirely from Chamar Gaurs, who came from near Cawnpur, and have for their priests Tiwâri Brâhmans. The writer of the Hardoi Settlement Report[3] speaks of the Chamar Gaurs as "a refractory, quarrelsome, ill-conditioned set, their one redeeming quality (owed probably to the fact that they are Râjputs in name rather than in reality) is that they do not murder their daughters." Their ancestor, Ganga Sinh, known as Kâna, or "one-eyed," is said to have driven out the Thatheras.

Distribution of the Chamar Gaur Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Agra	15	Benares	6
Farrukhâbâd	352	Gorakhpur	26
Mainpuri	72	Basti	11
Etâwah	185	Lucknow	76
Shâhjahânpur	32	Râê Bareli	57
Cawnpur	1,351	Sîtapur	9
Fatehpur	103	Hardoi	118
Bânda	2,121	Kheri	102
Hamîrpur	226	Faizâbâd	55
Allahâbâd	1	Bahrâich	1
Jhânsi	14	Sultânpur	5
Jâlaun	59	Partâbgarh	29
Lalitpur	10	Bârabanki	12
		Total	5,048

[1] *Supplementary Glossary, s.v., Gaur Râjput.*
[2] *Oudh Gazetteer*, III, 307.
[3] P. 175.

Chanamiya.—A sept of Râjputs, not separately recorded in the Census Returns, found in Jaunpur, Azamgarh, and Gorakhpur. They are generally, according to Sir H. M. Elliot,[1] included among the Bais of inferior descent, and are sometimes identified with the Gargbans.

Chandauriya.—A Râjput sept found in Fâizâbâd. They are an offshoot of the Bais of Baiswâra, who emigrated under their leader, Uday Buddhê Sinh, who gained his estates under the protection of a noted faqîr known as Kâli Pahâr. The title of Chandauriya from the village Chandaur is said to have been conferred on the sept by the Râja of Hasanpur.[2]

Chandel.[3]—(Sanskrit *Chandra*, "the moon").—An important sept of Râjputs. They claim descent from the moon, Chandra, up to Brahma. According to one version of the tribal legend Hemâvati was the daughter of Hemrâj, the family priest of Indrajît, the Gaharwâr Raja of Kâshi (Benares), or of Indrajît himself. With her at midnight the moon had dalliance. She awoke and saw the moon going away, and was about to curse him saying,—"I am not a Gautam woman that I should be thus treated." When he replied,—"The curse of Sri Krishna has been fulfilled. Your son will become a mighty hero, and will reign from the sunrise to the sunset." Hemâvati said:—"Tell me that spell whereby my son may be absolved." He answered:—"You will have a son and he will be your expiation," and he gave her this spell—"When the time of your delivery comes near go to Asu, near Kalinjar, and there dwell. When within a short time of being delivered, cross the River Ken and go to Khajrain, where Chintaman Banya lives, and stay with him. Your son shall perform the great sacrifice. In this iron age sacrifices are not perfect. I will appear as a Brâhman and complete the sacrifice. Then your absolution will be complete." The fruit of this amour was Chandra Varma, said to have been born in A. D. 157, and from him to Parmal Deo, whose fort Kalinjar was taken by Kutb-ud-dîn in 1202 A. D., there are said to have been by one account forty-nine and by another twenty-three generations.

2. By another version their original birthplace was Kalinjar. The King of that fort one day asked his family priest what was the

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[1] *Supplementary Glossary*, s.v.

[2] *Settlement Report*, 295.

[3] Partly based on notes by M. Jumna Dîn, Teacher of the Sumerpur School, and M. Râmsahây, teacher of the School at Mahoba, Hamirpur District.

day of the month. He answered that it was the full moon (*púran-mâsi*), whereas it was really the Amâvas or the last day of the dark fortnight. When the Pandit became aware of the mistake which he had committed, he went home and fell into deep distress. When his daughter learned the cause of his sorrow, she prayed to the moon to appear at once full, and thus justify her father's words. The moon appeared, and as a reward lay with her, and when her father heard of this he expelled her from his house; so she wandered into the jungle, and there her child was born. There a Banâphar Râjput saw her and took her home. Her father was so ashamed of the affair that he turned himself into a stone, and as his name was Mani Râm, he is now worshipped as Maniya Deva. The Chandel ascendancy in Bundelkhand between the supremacy of the Gonds and the advent of the Muhammadans is a well-known historical fact; it was during this period that the great irrigation works in the Hamîrpur District, the forts of Kalinjar and Ajaygarh, and the noble temples of Khajurâhu and Mahoba were built.

3. All these legends may point indirectly to some flaw in the tribal pedigree. We know that the Mirzapur legend of Oran Deo closely connects them with the aboriginal Soiris as the Oudh story suggests kinship with the Bhars.[1] The Unâo branch say they come from Chanderi, in the Dakkhin, whence they emigrated after the overthrow of the Bundelkhand kingdom of Mahoba by Prithivi Râja in spite of the bravery of the Banâphar heroes Alah and Udal.[2] Part of them emigrated to Unâo as late as the reign of Aurangzeb. As for the Eastern branch of the sept they are admitted to be of Sombansi origin, but do not intermarry with the leading tribes. The Bundelas are by one account a spurious breed between them and slave girls.[3] One of the Cawnpur families fasten their coats on the right side of the chest like Muhammadans. They say they do this in memory of the Delhi Emperors who remitted their tribute.[4]

4. In Bundelkhand they are reported[5] to give their daughters in marriage to Jâdons, Sisodhiyas, Sengars, Kachhwâhas, Bhadauriyas, and Tomars; but

Manners and customs.

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[1] *Mirzapur Gazetteer*, 120, *sqq.* Benett, *Clans of Râé Bareli.*
[2] *Oudh Gazetteer, Introduction*, XXXVI, *Indian Antiquary*, I, 265 *sq.*
[3] Elliott, *Chronicles of Unao*, 23 54.
[4] Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II, 458.
[5] *Settlement Report*, 20.

they take girls only from tribes of the higher rank. After the bride is brought to her husband's house Devi is worshipped with the accompaniment of singing and dancing, and then the bride marks the door with her spread hand smeared with *aipan* or a mixture of powdered rice and turmeric. The maximum number of wives that a man can take is seven; but the usual number is two or three. Betrothal is usually performed in infancy and marriage very early in life. The family barber often arranges the match, but now-a-days a regular marriage broker is sometimes appointed. Some dower is always given by the father of the bride. A wife may be divorced if she contracts leprosy or if she be unfaithful. Such women cannot marry again.

5. When the pregnancy of a woman is announced the ceremony of *chauk* is performed in the fifth or seventh month. The husband and wife are seated in a sacred enclosure (*chauk*), while a Brâhman recites texts. After the ceremony parched rice and sweetmeats are distributed to the brethren. At her confinement the mother is attended by a sweeper woman for three days, and by a barber woman for forty days. When the delivery takes place, an old woman of the family smears her hand with oil and makes a mark on the wall of the room, after which the cord is cut. The mother bathes on the third day, after which the ceremony of *charua* is done, and this is followed by the usual sixth day observance (*chhathi*).

6. The betrothal (*mangñi*) consists in the bride's barber coming to the house of the bridegroom and marking his forehead (*tîka*). Their marriage and death ceremonies are of the ordinary orthodox form.

7. Their special god is Mahâdeva, who is worshipped by men, and Devi by women and children.

8. In Oudh the Chandels take brides from the Chauhân, Gaharwâr, Raikwâr, Janwâr, and Dhâkrê septs: and give wives to the Gaur, Sombansi, and Punwâr. In Azamgarh they receive wives from the Baranwâr, Kâkan, Singhel, Udmatiya, Donwâr and Gaharwar septs: and give their daughters to the Gargbansi Gautam, Palwâr, Sirnet, Râjkumâr, Bachgoti, Kausik, Raghubansi, Bais and Chandrabansi.

Distribution of Chandel Rájputs according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Sahâranpur	18	24	42
Muzaffarnagar	17	...	17
Meerut	2	...	2
Bulandshahr	265	1	266
Aligarh	45	...	45
Mathura	32	10	42
Agra	119	...	119
Farrukhâbâd	1,349	16	1,365
Mainpuri	220	45	265
Etâwah	681	...	681
Etah	82	...	82
Bareilly	342	...	342
Budâun	1,038	29	1,067
Morâdâbâd	60	...	60
Shâhjahânpur	5,632	85	5,717
Pilibhît	228	...	228
Cawnpur	12,868	...	12,868
Fatehpur	1,755	4	1,759
Bânda	958	...	958
Hamîrpur	554	94	648
Allahâbâd	1,659	27	1,686
Jhânsi	84	31	115
Jâlaun	978	117	1,095
Lalitpur	125	...	125
Benares	1,944	58	2,002
Mirzapur	4,947	...	4,947
Jaunpur	7,901	8	7,909

Distribution of Chandel Râjputs according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Ghâzipur	806	257	1,063
Ballia	3,109	...	3,109
Gorakhpur	3,429	60	3,489
Basti	228	602	830
Azamgarh	5,186	88	5,274
Lucknow	810	15	825
Unâo	2,834	74	2,908
Râê Bareli	1,037	51	1,088
Sitapur	491	267	758
Hardoi	5,379	37	5,416
Kheri	490	121	611
Faizâbâd	906	21	927
Gonda	391	...	391
Bahrâich	195	40	235
Sultânpur	751	131	882
Partâbgarh	315	12	327
Bârabanki	886	19	905
Total	71,146	2,344	73,490

Chandrabansi.—Properly the race of the moon (*Chandravansa*). One of the two great divisions of the Kshatriya race, of whom a full account is given in the second chapter of Colonel Tod's "Annals of Rajasthân." In these Provinces it is the title of a separate sept, who are quite distinct from the Chandels who claim to represent the ancient children of the moon. They are most numerous in the Bulandshahr District.

2. In Azamgarh they claim to belong to the Bhârgava *gotra*; they receive brides from the Bisen, Sakarwâr, Nandwak, Râthaur, Palwâr, Gautam, Ujjani, Chandel, Bais, Udmatiya, Singhel, and Kausik septs; and marry their daughters to the Gargbansi, Raghu-

bansi, Sûrajbansi, Chauhân, and Sirnet. In Aligarh they take girls from the Gahlot, Kachhwâha, Râthaur, Bargûjar, Solankhi, Bâchhal, Jais, Janghâra, and Pundîr, and give brides to the Chauhân, Gahlot, Bargûjar, Punwâr, Tomar, Râthaur, Kachhwâha, Janghâra, and Dhâkra septs.

Distribution of the Chandrabansi Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	7	Jhânsi	81
Muzaffarnagar . . .	2	Jâlaun	3
Meerut	40	Benares	509
Bulandshahr . . .	2,340	Ghâzipur . . .	12
Aligarh	1,007	Ballia	79
Mathura	205	Gorakhpur . . .	121
Agra	60	Basti	94
Farrukhâbâd . . .	411	Azamgarh . . .	383
Mainpuri	14	Kumaun . . .	25
Etâwah	10	Tarâi	51
Etah	16	Râê Bareli . . .	22
Morâdâbâd . . .	13	Sîtapur	7
Shâhjâhanpur . . .	32	Hardoi	63
Cawnpur . . .	14	Kheri	126
Fatehpur . . .	26	Sultânpur . . .	13
Bânda	1	Bârabanki . . .	1
		Total .	5,788

Charandâsi.—A Vaishnava sect which takes its name from its founder, Charan Dâs, of the Dhûsar caste, who was born at Dehra, in the Alwar State in 1703. His father was Murli Dhûsar, who died when his son, then called Ranjît Sinh, was only five years old. "The boy then emigrated to Delhi and lived with some relations

there. He became a disciple of Bâba Sukhdeva Dâs, a religious faqîr of high religious attainments, at the age of nineteen, at Sukra Tâl, near Muzaffarnagar, who gave him the name of Râmcharan Dâs. Afterwards Charan Dâs established a separate religious order in his own name, and, like others, preached, and made many disciples. His principal disciples were Swâmi Râmrûp, Gusâîn Jagatân, and a woman named Shâhgolâi. Each of these established a monastery in Delhi and obtained grants from the Mughal Emperors, which have been confirmed by the British Government."[1]

2. Of the tenets of the sect, Prof. Wilson[2] writes:—"Their doctrines of universal emanation are much the same as those of the Vedanta school, although they correspond with the Vaishnava sects in maintaining the great source of all things, or Brahma to be Krishna; reverence of the Guru, and assertion of the pre-eminence of faith above every other distinction, are also common to them with other Vaishnava sects, from whom probably they only differ in requiring no other qualification of caste, order, or even of sect, for their teachers; they affirm, indeed, that originally they differed from other sects of Vaishnavas in worshipping no sensible representations of the deity, and in excluding even the *tulasi* plant and the Sâlagrâma stone from their devotions; they have, however, they admit, recently adopted them, in order to maintain a friendly intercourse with the followers of Râmanand: another peculiarity in their system is the importance they attach to morality, and they do not acknowledge faith to be independent of works; actions, they maintain, invariably meet with retribution or reward; their moral code, which they seem to have borrowed from the Mâdhavas, if not from a purer source, consist of ten prohibitions. They are not to lie, not to revile, not to speak harshly, not to discourse idly, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to offer violence to any created thing, not to imagine evil, not to cherish hatred, and not to indulge in conceit or pride. The other obligations are,—to discharge the duties of the profession or caste to which a person belongs, to associate with pious men, to put implicit faith in the spiritual preceptor, to adore Hari as the original and indefinable cause of all, and who, through the operation of Mâya, created the universe, and

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[1] Maclagan, *Panjâb Census Report*, 120, *sqq.*
[2] *Essays*, I, 178.

has appeared in it occasionally in a mortal form, and particularly as Krishna at Brindaban.

3. "The followers of Charan Dâs are both clerical and secular; the latter are chiefly of the mercantile order, the former lead a mendicant and ascetic life, and are distinguished by wearing yellow garments, and a single streak of sandal or *gopichandana* down the forehead; the necklace and rosary are of Tulasi beads. They wear also a small, pointed cap, round the lower part of which they wrap a yellow turban. Their appearance in general is decent, and their deportment decorous; in fact, though they profess mendicity they are well supported by the opulence of their disciples. It is possible, indeed, that this sect, considering its origin and the class by which it is professed, arose out of an attempt to shake off the authority of the Gokulastha Gusâîns. The authorities of the sect are the Sri Bhâgwat and Gîta, of which they have Bhâsha translations; that of the former is ascribed, at least in parts, to Charan Dâs himself; he has also left original works, as the Sandeha Sâgar and Dharma Jihâj, in a dialogue between him and his teacher, Sukhdeva, the same, according to Charan Dâsis, as the pupil of Vyâsa and narrator of the Purânas. The first disciple of Charan Dâs was his own sister, Sahaji Bâi, and she succeeded to her brother's authority as well as learning, having written the Sahaj Prakâsh and Solah Tat Nirnâya. They have both left many Sabdas and Kavits. Other works in Bhâsha have been composed by various teachers of the sect. The chief seat of the Charan Dâsis is at Delhi, where is the Samâdh or monument of the founder. This establishment consists of about twenty resident members There are also five or six similar Mathas at Delhi and others in the upper part of the Duâb, and their numbers are said to be rapidly increasing."

4. Unlike other dissenting sects the Charandâsis keep idols in their temples and respect Brâhmans, who are found as members of the sect. Their sacred place is Dehra, the birthplace of their chief, where there is a monument over his navel string, and his garment and rosary are kept. "The Charandâsi breviary (*gutka*) exhibits more Sanskrit learning than those of the other sects, and instead of passing allusions to mythology, goes into details regarding Sri Krishna's family, and merely popularises the orthodox Sanskrit teaching. Thus there is a chapter on one of the Upanishads and another from the Bhâgwat Purâna. Its style is, perhaps, more full and expressive, and less involved than other books of the same

class. The Sâdhs hold to the vernacular, and some time ago are said to have resented an attempt of a learned Charan Dâsi to substitute Sanskrit verse for the vulgar tongue. The breviary contains the Sanedha Sâgar and the Dharma Jihâj mentioned above. One rather striking chapter professedly taken from some Sanskrit book should be called Nâsa Kshetra's Inferno. Nâsa Kshetra is permitted to visit the hells, and to see the torments of sinners, which are described in detail, and the sins of each class specified. It is, in fact, an amplification of the Purânic account of Naraka, adapted to impress the minds of the vulgar. Nâsa Kshetra is then taken to visit heaven, and subsequently returns to earth to relate what he has witnessed."[1]

Distribution of the Charandâsis according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Muzaffarnagar . . .	11	Cawnpur	11
Meerut	47	Pânda	7
Bulandshahr . . .	25	Hamîrpur . . .	10
Agra . . .	7	Jhânsi	1
Bijnor	22	Jâlaun	10
Morâdâbâd . .	6	Tarâi	2
Shâhjahânpur . . .	2		
		Total	161

Chaubê—[Sans: *Chaturvedika*—"one skilled in the four Vedas;" according to others because they use four fire-pits (*vedi*)].—A sub-caste of Brâhmans who have their head-quarters at Mathura, whence they are very commonly known as Mathura ke Chaubê, Mathur or Mathuriya.

2. They are a sub-division of the great Kanaujiya stock, and according to Dr. Wilson,[2] their principal sub-divisions are,—Nayapura, Hargadi, Chaukhar, Kataya, Râmpura, Paliya, Hardâs-

[1] *Rajputâna Gazetteer*, III, 215.
[2] *Indian Caste*, II, 156.

pura, Tibaiya, Jamaduva, and Gargeya. According to another account they have seven *gotras* and sixty-four *als:* of these it has been found impossible to obtain a full list. The best known of the seven *gotras* are Bhâradwâja, Dhuma, Sana, Astra, and Daksha. Some of their *als* are Pânrê, Pâthak, Misra, Lapsê, Soti, Bharatwâr, Jonmanê, Ghebariya, Chhiraura, Donrwâr, and Tivâri.

3. The local legend tells that during the Varâha incarnation of Vishnu, the Daitya Hiranyâksha, twin brother of Hiranya-Kasipu, the hero of the Holi legend, came to fight with the deity. Varâha killed him, but was smitten with remorse, as his antagonist had been a Brâhman. So he sat down on the Visrânt Ghât at Mathura, and began to meditate how he could atone for the sin which he had committed. From the perspiration which the deity rubbed from his body sprang the Chaubês of Mathura. With their aid he performed a sacrifice and cleansed himself from his iniquity.

4. The Chaubês of Mathura are endogamous. It is said that their women can never live beyond the land of Braj. Hence the verse,—*Mathura ki beti, Gokul ki gâê, Karam phûtê to ant jâê.* "Mathura girls and Gokul cows will never move while fate allows."

This custom of endogamy results in two exceptional usages—first, that marriage contracts are often made while one or even both the parties are still unborn; and, secondly, that little or no regard is paid to relative age; thus a Chaubê, if his friend has no available daughter to bestow upon him, will agree to wait for his first granddaughter. They will not, if it can possibly be avoided, marry in their own *gotra;* but instances are said to occur in which this law of exogamy is not observed. According to Mr. Raikes[1] they have four varieties of marriage, called in the jargon of the tribe—*awwal byâh* or "first class," of which the total cost is Rs. 225; *doum* or "second class," costing Rs. 175; *tisra* or "third class," costing Rs. 75, and *kora* or "mean," where only one rupee is paid by the bride's folk; but no disgrace attaches to this cheap wedding.

5. "They are still very celebrated as wrestlers, and in the Mathura Mahâtmya their learning and other virtues are also extolled in the most extravagant terms; but either the writer was prejudiced, or time has had a sadly deteriorating effect. They are now ordinarily described by their own countrymen as a low, ignorant horde

[1] *Notes*, 30.

of rapacious mendicants. Like the Prâgwâlas at Allahâbâd, they are the recognised local cicerones; and they may always be seen with their portly forms lolling about near the most popular ghâts and temples, ready to bear down on the first pilgrim that approaches. One of their most notable peculiarities is that they are very reluctant to make a match with an outsider, and if by any possibility it can be managed they will always find bridegrooms for their daughters among the residents of the town. Many years ago a considerable migration was made to Mainpuri, where the Mathuriya Chaubês now form a large and wealthy section of the community, and are in every way of better repute than the parent stock."[1] Another peculiarity of them is their notorious love for *bhang* and sweetmeats. All are Vaishnavas and worshippers of Sri Krishna.

6. Their women are well known for their beauty and delicacy of form. A native traveller[2] writes:—"The Chaubâinis are in the grandest style of beauty. The whole class is superb, and the general character of their figure is majestic. Their colour is the genuine classical colour of the Brâhmans of antiquity." It is peculiar with them to celebrate a number of marriages the same day in order to save expense. Their greediness is proverbial—*Achchê bhaê atal, prân gaê nikal*—"A life is well lost that is lost in gorging sweets."

Distribution of Chaubê Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	9	Mainpuri . . .	1,061
Sahâranpur . . .	17	Etâwah . . .	122
Muzaffarnagar . . .	3	Etah	320
Meerut	19	Bareilly	249
Bulandshahr . . .	243	Budâun	300
Aligarh	109	Morâdâbâd . . .	388
Mathura	5,036	Pilibhît	20
Agra	2,293	Cawnpur . . .	166
Farrukhâbâd . . .	90	Allahâbâd . . .	135

[1] Growse, *Mathura*, 10.
[2] Bholanâth Chandra, *Travels* II, 36.

Distribution of Chaubê Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Jhânsi	1	Kumaun	2
Lalitpur	4	Tarâi	3
Benares	27	Lucknow	9
Mirzapur	33	Sîtapur	129
Ghâzipur	79	Bahrâich	34
Gorakhpur	114	Sultânpur	5
		Total	11,020
Males	5,452		
Females	5,568		

Chauhân.—An important sept of Râjputs. The Brâhmanical legend of their origin is thus described by Colonel Tod[1]:—"Again the Brâhmans kindled the sacred fire, and the priests assembling round the fire-pit (*agnikunda*) prayed for aid to Mahâdeva. From the fire fountain a figure issued out, but he had not a warrior's mien. The Brâhmans placed him as guardian of the gate, and hence his name Prithiha-dwâra. A second issued forth, and being formed in the palm (*challu*) of the hand was named Chalûka. A third appeared and was named Pramâra. He had the blessing of the Rishis, and with the others went against demons; but they did not prevail. Again Vasishtha, seated on the lotus, prepared incantations; again he called the gods to aid; and as he poured forth the libation, a figure arose lofty in stature, of elevated front, hair like jet, eyes rolling, breast expanded, fierce, terrific, clad in armour, quiver filled, a bow in one hand and a brand in the other, quadriform (*Chaturanga*), whence his name Chauhân." Another account derives the name from the Sanskrit Chaturbâhu, the name of the first king of the tribe. General Cunningham[2] shows from inscriptions that even as late as the time of Prithivi Râja, the Chauhâns had no claim to be sprung from fire, but were content to be considered descendants

[1] *Annals*, I, 102.
[2] *Archaeological Reports*, II, 255.

of the sage Bhrigu through Jamadagnya Vatsa, and he suggests another explanation of the fabled descent from fire, which does not seem very probable. According to tradition the famous city of Analpur, or Analwâra Patan, the capital of the Solankis, was said to have been founded by Vana Râja Solanki, who named it after Anala, a Chauhân cowherd, who pointed out the site to him. According to another version, the place was originally established by Anala Chauhân himself. As the date of the event was unknown, and was certainly remote, Anala was placed at the head of all the Chauhân genealogies as the progenitor of the race. Then, as Anala means "fire," it naturally follows that the cowherd was dropped and the element of fire adopted as the originator of the race. He adds that in early times the name is written Chahuwân in agreement with the Chahumân of the old Shaikhâwati inscription of A.D. 961, and is pointedly derived from the Hindi *châh* "desire or choice," which is an abbreviation of the Sanskirit *ichchha*. Dr. Buchhanan[1] derives the name from *chintapavana*, "the thought purifier," and the low grade so-called Chauhâns of Bijnor say they are so named because when crossing the Indus with Mân Sinh's army in 1586 A.D., they lost the four requisites (*chau* "four", *hân* "loss") of Hindu communion, religion (*dharm*), ceremonies (*riti*), piety (*daya*) and duties (*karma*).

2. Of the Oudh Chauhâns, Sir C. Elliot writes[1] :—"In all probability they followed closely on the Dikhits in the date of their immigration. They colonised a tract of land which lies south of Dikhtiyâna, with the Panwârs, Bâchhals, and Parihârs between it and the River Ganges. Chauhâna is the name popularly given to this tract, which is properly said to consist of ninety villages. The traditional cause which led to the migration is as follows :—A certain Râja of Mainpuri married a second wife in his old age, though his first wife had borne him two sons. The bride expostulated with her family at being given in marriage to so old a man, and stipulated that if she had a son he should succeed to the estate and the title. The Râja agreed, and signed a written acknowledgment to that effect. After some time he died ; but his wife had already borne him a son, and on his death she produced the bond which the Râja had signed. All the brotherhood agreed that they ought to abide

[1] *Eastern India*, II, 462.
[2] *Chronicles of Unâo*, 42, *sq.*

by it. The two elder brothers left the country in disgust and settled in Oudh. The traditions of different villages in Chauhâna differ as to the names of these two brothers, and it is stated that only one of them remained here and the other went on to the borders of the Gomati and settled in Isauli, where there is now a large Chauhân colony. But as the whole of the great colonies of Bachgotis, Rajkumârs, Rajwârs, and Khânzâdas, who rule in the Faizâbâd and Sultânpur Districts, are Chauhâns disguised under various names, and originally emigrated from Mainpuri about the same time, it is safe to trust an isolated local tradition as to any close connection existing between any of these two colonies. It is sufficient to remark that they are all of the same *gotra*, and therefore belong to the same stock."

The Chauhans of the Ganges-Jumna-Duâb.

3. The most conspicuous families and those of the bluest blood are those of Mainpuri, Rajor, Pratâpner, and Chakarnagar. The Mainpuri family,[1] the head of the sept, is said to have settled in the Central Duâb in the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. They are generally represented to be the lineal descendants of Pratâp Rudra, who was son of Râna Sangat, the great grandson of Chahir Deva, the brother of Prithivi Râja, the last Chauhân King of Delhi, who was conquered by Shahâb-ud-dîn Ghori in 1193 A. D. It is almost certain, however, that the real founder of this important branch of the Chauhâns was Deva Brahma, a less distinguished cadet of the same house. Shortly after the defeat of Prithivi Râja and the fall of the Chauhân dynasty, Brahma, accompanied by a numerous following of kinsmen and retainers, left his original seat at Nimrâna and settled at Pratâpner, near Bhongâon, in the Mainpuri District. The founder of this branch was Pratâp Rudra, who is constantly mentioned in the Makhzan-i-Afghâni of Niyâmat-ulla as having played a prominent part in the reign of Muhammad Ala-ud-dîn and Bahlol Lodi. He held Bhongâon, Kampil, and Patiyâli, and was confirmed by Bahlol Lodi as Governor of that part of the country. In the war between Bahlol and the Sharqi monarch of Jaunpur, Râê Pratâp and Qutb Khân, the Afghân Governor of the adjoining District of Râpri, acted in concert, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, and presumably on account of the assassination of Narasinha Deva, son of Râê Pratâp, they organised a conspiracy against Sultân

[1] *Mainpuri Settlement Report*, 17, *sqq.*

Bahlol and compelled him to retreat towards Delhi, leaving the Jaunpur King in possession of the Central and Lower Duâb. A tradition runs that a Chauhân being sorely pressed by his son-in-law, and smarting under the sense of disgrace, as the father of a married daughter seemed to entail upon him, called together his son and bound them by an oath to save his family from future contempt by killing every female child that might be born to them. Since then the sept has borne an evil reputation for the practice of infanticide.[1]

Traditions of other branches.

4. One family in Lucknow are called Rakhula, because it is said that one of them had to lay an evil spirit, a Brahma Râkshasa, before he could occupy the village. Another story is that this family had a Churel as their ancestress.[2] In Mathura[3] the sept is classed as pure, because they do not allow widow-marriage. The Bareilly[4] branch say that ten generations back (1500—1550 A.D.), Nandhar Deva and Gandhar Deva came to Parauli in Budâun, and thence moving on expelled the Bhîls from Bisauli. The Gorakhpur branch are alleged by Dr. Buchanan[5] to have intermarried with impure Hill tribes, and to have a Chinese caste of features. In Bulandshahr[6] one branch accepted Islâm as they murdered the Muhammadan Governor of Sikandarâbâd, and another adopted widow-marriage, and have been expelled from the tribe. The legitimate Azamgarh branch traces its origin to Sambhal, in the Morâdâbâd District.[7]

Inferior branches of the sept.

5. In addition to the above, who claim legitimate descent, there are others whose position is more than doubtful. Such are those in Morâdâbâd and Bijnor, some of whom say they were originally Gahlot, others Gaur, Bais, Pânwâr, and so on.[8] They appear to be divided into three classes—Chaudhari, Padhân, and Khâgi. The last of these are the lowest, widow-marriage being permitted among them. The Chaudhari do not give their daughters to the Padhân, but take theirs.

They, as a rule, worship Mahâdeva and Devi. In Morâdâbâd, by one account, they take their name from *chûha*, "a rat," which would

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[1] Raikes, *Notes*, 8.
[2] *Settlement Report*, LXVII.
[3] *Ibid*, 34.
[4] *Ibid*, 32.
[5] *Eastern India*, II, 462.
[6] Râja Lachhman Sinh, *Memo*, 164, *sq*.
[7] *Settlement Report*, 60.
[8] *Census Report*, 1865, Table IV, 6.

connect them with distinctly non-Aryan races like the Musahar. They are said to have been driven into the Sub-Himalyan Tarâi by the advancing Thâkurs and Ahars. Similar and probably akin to these are the Aswâl of the hill, who also claim Chauhân origin.[1]

Marriage rules.

6. To the west of the Province the true Chauhâns usually seek alliances for their daughters with the Kachhwâha, Badhauriya, Baghel, and Râthaur, and the humble Chauhân will take a wife from the Parihâr of Bundelkhand or the Jâdon of Karauli. In Râê Bareli their sons marry Bisen girls, and their girls Kalhans and Burheliya youths. In Faizâbâd they marry their sons to Bais and Gautam girls and their daughters to the Panwâr, Chamar Gaur, Sûrajbans, and Raikwâr. Their ancestor is said to have married a Kalhans maiden. From Bulandshahr it is reported that the Chauhâns give brides to the Panwâr, Râthaur, Gahlot, Tilokchandi Bais, Kachhwâha, Sisodiya, and other high class Râjputs; and marry Bargûjar, Pundîr, Katheriya, Bâchhal, Gahlot, and other high caste Râjput girls. In Unâo they usually marry their girls in the Kachhwâha, Râthaur, Janwâr, Gahlot, or Panwâr septs, and their sons to the Sombansi, Sakarwâre, or Chandel. In Gonda they give brides to the Bhadauriya, Sengar, Râthaur, or Bisen: their sons to the Bais, Bisen or other respectable Râjput septs. The bastard Chauhâns marry much lower caste people.[2]

Distribution of Chauhân Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	4,046	248	4,294
Sahâranpur	13,250	7,766	21,016
Muzaffarnagar	7,041	4,056	11,097
Meerut	19,529	179	19,708
Bulandshahr	13,944	7,236	21,180
Aligarh	16,344	51	16,395
Mathura	3,825	416	4,241

[1] Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 276.
[2] *Eastern India*, II, 462.

Distribution of Chauhân Râjputs according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Agra	11,939	154	12,093
Farrukhâbâd	5,495	7	5,502
Mainpuri	24,680	15	24,695
Etâwah	9,897	168	10,065
Etah	13,706	943	14,649
Bareilly	7,011	239	7,250
Bijnor	77,890	...	77,890
Budâun	6,568	283	6,651
Morâdâbâd	37,836	1,228	39,064
Shâhjahânpur	9,016	375	9,391
Pilibhît	2,082	13	2,095
Cawnpur	8,794	106	8,900
Fatehpur	2,847	76	2,923
Bânda	1,498	43	1,541
Hamîrpur	533	19	552
Allahâbâd	1,483	523	2,006
Jhânsi	753	39	792
Jâlaun	5,515	9	5,524
Lalitpur	578	24	602
Benares	591	253	844
Mirzapur	1,675	23	1,698
Jaunpur	1,680	989	2,669
Ghâzipur	1,356	656	2,012
Ballia	2,131	357	2,488
Gorakhpur	3,461	4,649	8,110
Basti	1,749	10,453	12,202
Azamgarh	2,925	3,926	6,851

Distribution of Chauhân Rajputs according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Kumaun	134	...	134
Tarâi	7,987	...	7,987
Lucknow	5,745	151	5,896
Unâo	10,540	16	10,556
Râê Bareli	6,189	797	6,986
Sîtapur	5,562	3,424	8,986
Hardoi	6,712	...	6,712
Kheri	4,627	2,766	7,393
Faizâbâd	5,858	1,978	7,836
Gonda	8,997	402	3,799
Bahrâich	2,678	6,845	9,523
Sultânpur	4,425	1,478	5,903
Partâbgarh	3,065	144	3,209
Bârabanki	3,356	840	4,196
Total	397,343	64,363	461,706

Chaupata Khamb.—A Râjput sept found in small numbers in the Benares division. According to Mr. Sherring[1] in the city of Benares they are chiefly engaged in the manufacture of fine wire used in the frames on which cloth of various description is woven. They trace their descent to two Sarwariya Brâhman brothers, Baldeo and Kuldeo, who settled at Pathkhauli, in the Jaunpur district. Râja Jay Chand is said to have given hi sdaughter in marriage to Baldeo, on which Kuldeo, to mark his anger, erected a pillar (*khamb*), and the descendants of Baldeo are hence called *chaupata* or "ruined."

Chauseni—(*Chahu*, four; *sena*, an army).—A sub-caste of Banyas found principally in the Meerut, Agra, and Rohilkhand Divisions. They are said to be a spurious branch of the Bârahseni (*q. v.*). They

[1] *Hindu Tribes*, I, 229.

hold very low rank among Banyas. Till recently all the higher castes refused to eat and drink things touched by them. They say they came from Mathura, and claim descent from Chânûra, the wrestler of Râja Kansa, from whom Chamârs also say they are sprung. Another story is that they are descended from one Râja Phonda of Chanderi by an unmarried woman named Kundaliya.

Distribution of Chauseni Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Muzaffarnagar . .	30	Etah	783
Meerut	85	Bareilly	424
Bulandshahr . . .	5,244	Bijnor	6
Aligarh	2,177	Budâun	1,261
Mathura	423	Morâdâbâd . . .	1,022
Agra	106	Shâhjahânpur . . .	2
Farrukhâbâd	75	Pilibhît	150
Mainpuri . . .	6	Cawnpur . . .	6
Etâwah	3		
		Total .	11,803

Chero.—A Dravidian race of labourers and cultivators found in the hill country of Mirzapur where they number according to the last Census 4,881. The word may be possibly of non-Aryan origin. It has been connected with the Hindi *chela* (Sanskrit *chetaka, chedaka* "a slave"). Sir G. Campbell's[1] theory that that Chero-Khero, Kharwâr is not probable. The ethnology of the Cheros has been to some extent obscured by the fact that they are in Bengal perhaps the most advanced of the Dravidian races. Colonel Dalton calls them the last Kolarian tribe dominant in the Gangetic Provinces.[2] They are said in Shâhâbâd to have been rulers of the country extending from Charanadri, the modern Chunâr, to

[1] *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1866, Part II. According to Dr. J. Muir they were perhaps the Kîkatas of the Sanskrit writers—*Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, II, 363. The Kîkatas appear to have been residents of the modern Bihâr.

[2] *Descriptive Ethnology*, 125.

Gridhaya kot (Giridhi), and from the Ganges to the hills which now form the boundary of South Bihâr, including the entire extent of the country in the Patna division south of the Ganges. The names of the Kol Râj and the Chero Râj are now descriminately applied by the natives of the South Bihâr to the kingdom of the aborigines.[1] According to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton they extended as far as Gorakhpur or Kosala, and destroyed the family of the Sun in Ajudhya, as well as that of the Moon in Magadha.[2]

2. A tradition recorded by Mr. Forbes [3] states that Kesho Nârâyan Sinh, a Bundya Râjput, and Râja of Garhgûmti, in Bundelkhand, was blessed with an only daughter: being anxious to learn the future that was in store for her, he sent for a learned Brâhman and requested him to draw her horoscope. The Brâhman did so, and declared it was ordained that the young girl, if married at all, could wed no other than a Muni, or one to all intents and purposes dead. On learning this the Râja determined to go to some holy shrine and offer (*sankalap*) his daughter to the first Muni he could find. He started accordingly taking his daughter with him, and when passing through the Morong,[4] he one day encamped in a tope of trees near to which there was a mound. Enquiring from the people what this mound was, he learned that it was the living sepulchre of a very pious Muni Chamman Muni Rishi. The Râja immediately called for spade and shovel, unearthed the holy man, and made the girl over to him. From this marriage sprung the Chero or Chauhânbansi Râjputs. Their son was Chet Râê, who expelled the Râthaur lords of the country. After him the following Chero Râjas ruled Kumaun—Chhattardîs Râê, Udit Râê, Udand Râê, and Choân Râê, whose son, Phûl Chand, conquered Bhojpur or South Bihâr. The Cheros entered Palamau in 1612 A. D., and ruled the district for nearly two hundred years, when they were expelled by the British.

3. General Cunningham accepts the account that they were conquered by the Saura tribe in Shahâbâd and Benares. In Shahâbâd, the ancient Karusha Desa, all old buildings are ascribed to them. Even as late as the time of Akbar a Chero chief is said to have kept possession of Chayanpur, one of the chief towns in the district.

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[1] *Calcutta Review*, CXXXVII, 351.
[2] *Eastern India*, II, 341.
[3] *Settlement Report of Palamau*, 28, *sqq*
[4] This is probably th Morang, now one of the Nepâl Districts.

General Cunningham thinks their power must have ceased before the accession of the Pâla dynasty. One ancient chief or ruling family among them appears to have been known as Chero Chai.[1]

4. There are no Cheros now in Ghâzipur; but Dr. Oldham describes those on the Ghâzipur frontier as honest, industrious cultivators, not differing from Hindus of the agricultural classes. The family records of the Hayobans Râjas, formerly of Bihiya, and now of Haldi, notice a conflict between the Chero and Hayobans chiefs which lasted for hundreds of years, and terminated in the triumph of the Râjputs. As late as the reign of the Afghân Emperor Shîr Shâh the power of the Cheros was formidable, and on his overcoming Maharta, a chief of the tribe, he indulged in transports of delight. On the Kaimûr plateau the last famous robbers were Nora and Kora, who were captured in 1858.[2] Their village was Chirvi, called after the tribe, as are the Cherand Pargana and Cherand Island in the Sâran District.[3]

5. But in spite of their Brâhmanical traditions and extensive conquests they are undoubtedly, as Dr. Buchanan Hamilton asserted, of Dravidian origin.[4] Colonel Dalton remarks that in Chota Nâgpur their physical traits have been considerably softened by their alliances with pure Hindu families. He describes their features as of the Mongolian, or, as he should rather have said, of the Kolarian or Dravidian type. They vary in colour, but are usually of a light brown. They have, as a rule, high cheek bones, small eyes obliquely set, and eyebrows to correspond; low, broad noses, and large mouths with protuberant lips;[5] in other words, they are not appreciably different from the other Dravidian tribes, like the Kols, Majhwârs, etc. This is further shown by the fact that in Mirzapur they are popularly known as Baiga, the devil priest, which is the special business of the non-Aryan races.

6. There is no trace in Mirzapur of the division into Bârahhazâr and Terahhazâr of Palamau.[6] South of the Son they have two exogamous sections, Mahto and Chaudhari: others call these sections Nâgbansi, and pretend

Internal structure.

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[1] *Reports, Archæological Survey*, XV, 60, XVII, 131, *sq.*: XXII, 75.
[2] Probably Kunwara, "Prince," Neura, Neula, "weasel."
[3] *Memoir of Ghâzipur*, I, 51.
[4] *Eastern India*, I, 24.
[5] *Descriptive Ethnology*, 126.
[6] *Tribes and Castes*, I, 199.

that they are like their brethren in Chota Nâgpur, descendants of the Nâg or dragon,[1] and Pandobansi, who say they are connected with the five Pandavas; another statement of the sections shows the composite character of the race—Kol, Chero, Hardaha (from the *harîn* tree, *adina cordifolia*), Kariha, Panariha, Kutaha Sinduraha ("those who use red lead"). Some of these are possibly of totemistic origin. The Census Returns give another list—Bardbansi, Bardhân, Bârubansi, Gaya, Khar, and Sûrajbansi.

Exogamy.

7. Their custom of exogamy even is uncertain. By one account first cousins on the father's side cannot intermarry, while marriage of cousins on the mother's side is permitted, and a paternal uncle's son can marry a maternal uncle's daughter, but not *vice versâ*. On the other hand, the more Hinduised Cheros profess to regulate exogamy by the stock formula—*chachera, mamera, phupera, mausera,* which bars the line of the paternal uncle, maternal uncle, paternal aunt, maternal aunt. There can be very little doubt that until comparatively recently they used to intermarry with Bhuiyas, as is proved by numerous local traditions. The Bhuiyas, on the other hand, say that they have given up intermarrying with Cheros since the Cheros have taken to intermarry with Kols, and the Cheros at any rate give Kol as one of their sections. South of the Son it is generally asserted that Bhuiyas and Cheros are the same. From all which it would appear that Kols, Cheros and Bhuiyas are of one parent-stock, and have separated by a process of abscission in comparatively recent times.

Marriage rules.

8. There is no trace of polyandry among them. It is noticed as peculiar to the Cheros that, unlike the allied Dravidian tribes, whenever they go any distance from home, as to the jungle after cattle, to pay their rent, etc., they always bring their wives with them. It is a tradition among them that formerly the custom was that if a man remained six months absent from his wife, she was at liberty to form a fresh connection: but it is said that this is now obsolete. The standing price for a bride is five rupees, and it is entirely a question of means how many wives a man has. Monogamy appears to be the rule. Some Cheros admit that concubinage is allowed, and that a widow or divorced woman may go and live with anyone she likes; but this

[1] Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 126.

custom, too, appears becoming gradually discredited. Girls are said to be allowed little liberty before marriage; but it seems certain that many marriages are carried out when pregnancy is the result of an ante-nuptial intrigue,[1] in which case the alliance is recognized on her father giving a tribal feast (*bojh bhât*); but if her paramour be of another caste she is permanently excluded. Like those in Chota Nâgpur[2] the Mirzapur Cheros profess to marry their children between the age of five and ten. Any relation may act as the negotiator (*agua*). Though her father receives the bride-price it is spent on the marriage, and he is expected to give her a dowry as far as his means will allow. The customs regarding divorce, widow-marriage, the levirate, and succession, are the same as among the Kols. The Gharjaiyân marriage, where the youth serves for his bride on probation in the house of her father, is common.[3]

Relationship.

9. The general scheme of relationship agrees with that of the Kols. A father is *bâba, dâda*; father's brother, *kâka*; mother, *dîdi*; sister, *bahin*; father's mother, *âji*; elder paternal uncle's wife, *barki kâki*, younger paternal uncle's wife, *chhutki kâki*; elder brother's wife, *bhauji*; younger brother's wife, *dulhin*; or bride, son's wife, *patohiya*; maternal uncle, *mâmu*; mother's mother *nâni*; mother's sister *mausi*; mother's father *nâna*; mother's grandfather, *parnâna*; wife's father, *mahto*, or "leader;" wife's father's wife, *mahtoâin*;" sister's husband, *âr* (*yâr*, friend), brother-in-law's father, *mahto*; younger brother of wife, *bâbu*. A man names his wife by his son—*Lallu ki mahtâri*—"Lallu's mother." A father is sometimes addressed as *bhaiyya* or "brother." They remember genealogies only to three generations, and in the case of females only as far as the grandmother. They call clansmen living in the same village *ganwân bhâi*.

Birth ceremonies.

10. The Cheros mark their approach to Hinduism by having puberty ceremonies which are not usual among the allied Dravidian races. On each occasion they sacrifice to Durga Devi and the collective village gods (*deohâr*). Cocks, hens, pigs, goats, and liquor constitute the offering which is made by the village Baiga, who first bathes and then before the platform of the deity makes a cowdung fire, into

[1] Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 23.
[2] Risley, *loc cit.*, I, 201.
[3] Westermarck, *loc cit*, 09.

which he pours a mixture of sugar, butter, sesamum and rice, and says,—*Dih bâba hamâr kâraj toharé kirpa se ho gail; sejânab; ham manaulé rahlé, so leh*—"Village Lord! Our business has been completed through thy favour! Know this! Accept the offering we owed." After this he sacrifices the victim, which the brethren divide, the head being the Baiga's perquisite. The worship is supposed to keep evil spirits from the mother and her expected baby. The other birth ceremonies are the same as among the Kols.

Betrothal.

11. The binding part of the betrothal ceremony is the payment of the bride-price, five rupees. If the father of the girl annul the engagement he is forced to return the bride-price, and is severely dealt with by the tribal council besides.

Marriage.

12. There are three varieties of marriage,—*Charhauwa*, which is the respectable form; *dola*, which is used by poor people and in which the ceremonies are done at the house of the bridegroom, and *sagâi*, for widows. The ritual is the same as among the Kols, but the Cheros make more use than they do of Brâhmans in fixing the lucky time, and even now in respectable families Brâhmans attend, but do not carry out the service. Such people are clearly in rapid progress towards complete Hinduism.

Death.

12. Similarly in the case of funeral ceremonies they are beginning to employ Brâhmans and to do the regular *srâddha*, while they still retain some of the non-Aryan practices noticed in the case of the allied Dravidian races.

Religion.

13. Their chief deities are Sairi, a vague female form sometimes known as Devi, Sîtala, the goddess of small pox, and the Dih, or aggregate of village gods, which are worshipped both by men and women. Fowls, goats, and pigs are sacrificed to the Manes, the victim being fed on some rice and marked on the head with red lead in the name of the sainted dead before being sacrificed. During the period of mourning they do worship to the disembodied spirit (*pret*) with an offering of a young pig. For their special worship in the Hindu form they employ a low body of Sarwariya Brâhmans. The worship of the village gods is done by a Baiga of their own tribe, and this local priest is generally the president of the village tribal council. The Baiga pretends to great personal purity, and is supposed to fast on the day he makes the offering. They have apparently quite abandoned the

system of triennial sacrifices which prevails among the Eastern branch of the tribe;[1] but their tribal traditions show that their discontinuance is comparatively recent. The site of the Chero shrine (*deohâr*) is usually under a *nîm* tree where rude earthenware images of horses are collected. The offering very often takes the form of what is called *newaj*, balls of sweetened flour fried in butter. These after being offered are eaten by the family of the worshipper and the Baiga. All their sacrifices are done in public, except those to Dulhadeo, the godling of marriages, who is little more than a household deity, and whose worship is in the hands of the women.

Festivals.

14. Their festivals are the Anant Chaudas, on the 14th day of the light half of Bhâdon; the Jiutiya, during the fortnight sacred to the dead (*pitra paksha*), in Kuâr, when women fast for a day and night to procure long life (*jiw*) for their sons and husbands; and the Phagua or Holi. Some Sundays are consecrated to the spirits of the dead, and are called *pretak*, when a fast is imposed, and on Sundays generally as well as at the Anant Chaudas, they do not eat salt. They do the Phagua like ordinary Hindus. In the Pitrapaksha for ten days they pour water on the ground in the name of the dead, and on the eleventh day shave and put on clean clothes. On that day each family gives the Brâhman two and a-half *sers* of uncooked grain (*sîdha*). The only family festival is the Jiutiya, which some observe to bring good luck on the family, and some in the hope of male offspring. One platform in the house is the residence of the sainted dead and the Devi. They are much afraid of the ghosts of persons drowned (*tûrna*), and whenever they pass a place where such an accident occurred they raise hands in an attitude of supplication.

Ancestor worship.

15. Ancestor worship is fairly well established, but not universal. It can form even the subject of a joke as in a proverb common among these people—*châr kawar bhîtar, tab deota pitar*—"First eat four mouthfuls, then think of the godlings and the sainted dead." Sickness in a family is attributed to the anger of the ancestral ghosts: in such cases fowls and goats are sacrificed in the house, and a few drops of liquor are poured on the ground. On the tenth day after

[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, 1,202.

a death the more Hinduised Cheros give the family priest (*purohit*) a pair of loin-cloths (*dhoti*), a drinking vessel (*lota*), a tray (*thâli*), and grain always in the ratio of one and-a-quarter *sers*, maunds, measures (*paseri*). The ghosts of the dead if not propitiated appear in dreams and prescribe the necessary offerings. If the injunctions given by them in the first dream are not obeyed, the next time they sit on the chest and squeeze the throat of the offender. Ghosts (*bhût*) habitually haunt cremation grounds. Neglect of funeral ceremonies does not necessarily involve the spirit becoming a Bhût, but those who are killed by a Bhût invariably become Bhûts themselves. Tattooing in its present form is little more than ornamental; but it is clearly connected with puberty,[1] and is based in case of women on a religious motive. If a woman die without being tattooed, Paramesar will tattoo her himself with the thorns of acacia (*babûl*). Women pay special reverence to the fig tree (*pîpal*), and bow when they pass near it. They have the usual meeting omens. They do not follow Hindus in giving two names to children. They swear by touching a cow-tail or the feet of a Brâhman or by standing in water while they make a solemn assertion to speak the truth. Poverty, leprosy, or loss of children follows a broken oath.

Witchcraft.

16. Many of these women have a reputation for witchcraft and the power of casting the Evil Eye. Such people are hated by the Baiga, who gets them out of the village if he can. It is believed that these witches specially select young men and children as their victims. The headquarters of the Ojhas who deal with such cases are at two places called "the house of God" (*Deoghariya*), in Nagar Untâri, District Lohârdaga; people attacked by witchcraft visit these Ojhas with trays of flowers. There are also local Ojhas usually of the Kharwâr, Majhwâr, or Bhuiyâr tribes, who prescribe in cases of witchcraft and instruct disciples. A favourite method of injuring an enemy is to measure his footsteps in the dust with a straw, and then to mutter a spell over it. This brings on wounds and sores in the foot. There is a special word for this, *pângna*.[2] Disease is popularly believed to be due to demoniacal agency,[3] and people are particularly cautious to destroy cuttings of their hair, nails, etc., lest they should come into the

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1 Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 177, 180.

2 This is possibly derived from *pad*, foot: *ag*, to move tortuously.

3 Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, 243.

hands of witches, who would thus obtain control over their victims.[1]

Social customs.

17. The only meat from which Cheros habitually abstain is that of the cow, and the prohibition of its use is based on religious motives. Their taboos are the same as those of the Kols. Men and women eat apart. They salute Brâhmans and other superiors in the *paĕlagi* form, to others they salâm. When they meet a superior they very often take off the turban and stand on one leg. They will eat food cooked in butter (*pakka khâna*) only from the hands of Brâhmans. They, in fact, affect a good deal of ceremonial purity like the Cheros of Palamau and the Kharrias.[2] Kalwârs and all the wandering Banyas who go about the country for grain will eat *pakka khâna* and drink water from their hands. Their usual occupations are cultivating, ploughing for others, cutting wood, collecting lac and other jungle produce. They will not breed silkworms, which is considered a most disreputable occupation and left to Bhuiyârs and Chamârs. They have an elementary communal organisation (*ĕka*) in which the residents of three or four villages join for general business. But this seems to be on the decline. There is no trace of a periodical distribution of fields, but only the lands near the village site are habitually cultivated. The others are under a system of biennial fallow. In all but the cleared and cultivated lands the right of pasturage is unrestricted. Cheros have a reputation for honesty and good conduct, and they are liked in villages better than Bhuiyas or Bhuiyârs: but they are lazy cultivators.

Houses.

18. Like all these jungle races they keep their houses separate from each other, partly through fear of witchcraft practised by neighbours, to avoid infection, the work of evil spirits, and with this object sick people constantly change their houses, partly through fear of fire, as their houses are very inflammable. This is also the rule with the Bhîls.[3]

Chhîpi.[4]—(Hindi, *chhâpna*, "to print," Sans: *kship*, "to pour").—The caste of calico printers and chintz stampers, of whom there are both a Hindu and a Muhammadan branch. The Hindu branch have a tradition that they were once Râthaur Râjputs. In the

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1 Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, 243.

2 Dalton, *Ethnology*, 160, *Note*; Risley, *loc. cit.*, I, 202.

3 *Bombay Gazetteer*, VI, 26.

4 Based on enquiries made at Mirzapur and notes by Bâbu Bâsdeo Sahây, Headmaster, High School, Farrukhâbâd, and Nawâb Muhammad Ali Khân, Bulandshahr.

same way the Bhavsârs or calenders of Bombay have a tradition that when Parasurâma was exterminating the Kshatriya race they were Râjputs living at Mathura, and, fearing the same fate as their brethren, became followers of one Râmdevji, a mendicant, and came to Mârwâr. This Râmdevji being a calender his followers at first were called Chhîppas. Their present name they derive from the fact of their having placed faith (*bhâv*) in this mendicant.[1]

The Eastern Chhîpis refer their origin to a place which they call Dheri Avarerachh, somewhere in Bundelkhand. Dheri is a village in the Samthar State which lies between Jalaun and Jhânsi, and Avarerachh is a corruption of Irichh or Erichh, a town in Pargana Moth, of the Jhânsi District, which is even to the present day noted for its manufacture of chintz.[2]

Internal structure.

2. The internal structure of the caste is very intricate. In Mirzapur they name seven endogamous sub-castes—Palhariya (from *palihanda*, the stand on which the dye-pots are placed); Bulbulha (from *bulbul*, the nightingale); Dunsua (said to mean "a large needle"); Sâdh or "saints," who pretend to special purity and will not eat meat or kill animals; Sûrajbans, "children of the Sun"; Kanaujiya or Kanaujiha, who say they come from Kanauj; and Pariya, or "those who keep young buffalo calves." These are the explanations current among the members of the caste, and must, of course, be accepted with caution. In Fatehgarh there are two endogamous sub-castes—Reli or Dilwâri, that is Dehliwâl or "residents of Delhi;" Gola, "mixed," or Mârwâri or Sanganeri, who take their name from a place called Sanganer, which is said to be somewhere near Jaypur. These, again, are divided into a number of sections. Thus of the Reli are named the Milku; Chhuriyapel; Ajudhiya; Nauchhirak; Sunawâr; Pânisap; Kupendiya; Kachhot; Banawâr; Gadhaiya, and many others. The Golas are said to have seven hundred and fifty sections, such as the Dharâvnê; Dûsayê; Mertwâr, and Gothalwâr. In Fatehgarh the rule of exogamy appears to be that a man cannot marry in his own section nor in a section in which a near female relation is already married. In Bulandshahr they are reported to have three endogamous sub-castes—Jeni or Jaini, Reliya, and Tânk, and they do not marry in their own family or in that of the

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, V, 73.
[2] *Gazetteer, North-West Provinces*, I, 423.

maternal uncle. The Eastern Chhîpis state that they follow the standard formula *chachera, mamera, phuphera, mausera,* which bars the line of the paternal uncle, maternal uncle, maternal aunt, and paternal aunt.

3. According to the Census lists which record two hundred and two sub-divisions of the Hindu and twenty-one of the Mahummadan branch, their sections follow the rule so common in these occupational castes. Some are of local origin and others imply some real or supposed connection with other tribes. Thus among local terms we find Ajudhyabâsi, Chhatarpuriya, Deswâri, Kanaujiya, Mârwâri, Mathuriya, Pachhâin, Panjâbi, Purabiya, Sribâstav; while in the second class come Agarwâl, Agrahari, Bais, Baiswâr, Bâgri, Chamâr, Chauhân, Chhatri, Chiryamâr, Chûrihâr, Darji, Dhakarya, Jâdu, Kachhiya, Koliya, Kori, Râjput, Râthaur, Râwat, Ruhela, Sakarwâr, Sûrajbansi, Tânk, Tomar, and Ummar, most of which are derived from the names of tribes and sub-castes or septs of Banyas and Râjputs.

Marriage customs.

4. They marry their children in infancy. To the east polygamy is allowed to the extent of having two wives at one time if the first be barren. To the west, though polygamy is tolerated, it is said to be rare. There is nothing peculiar about their marriages, which are conducted in the orthodox way. Intertribal adultery seems to be little regarded, but an intrigue with a stranger involves expulsion from caste. There is among the Hindu branch at least no regular form of divorce, but a man with the leave of the tribal council can expel his wife for infidelity. Divorced women can marry again with permission of the tribal council. The levirate is recognized, but is not compulsory on the widow.

Religion.

5. To the east of the Province they very seldom belong to any recognised Hindu sect. Devi and the Pânchonpîr are their tribal deities. Devi is worshipped on the 14th of Phâlgun with an offering of cocoanuts, sweets (*batâsha, halwa*) cakes (*pûri*) and garlands of flowers. The Pânchonpîr are honoured with sweet cakes (*malîda*) and loin-cloths, which the worshippers put on after offering them to the godlings. To the West the Relis are Nânakpanthis and the Golas Vaishnavas. The Relis worship Nânak especially on the Ganga Sâtwîn and at the Basant Panchami, when the *halwa* sweetmeat is offered to him and then distributed among the worshippers. Women especially worship

Shaikh Saddu. In Bulandshahr they worship Mâta or the small-pox goddess, Mîrân Sâhib, and Châmar Devi. Their tribal saint is Nâmdeva, of whom they know nothing save that he was the first printer. One person of this name is one of the authors of the Sikh Granth and another or perhaps the same is regarded by the Marâthas as their oldest poet, and is said to have been a contemporary of Kabîr, and to have lived in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Of the Nâmdeopanthis who recorded themselves to the number of 10,358 at the last Census, the unity of the deity and the uselessness of ceremonial appear to be the leading characteristics of the creed. Like Râêdâsi Chamârs and Senapanthi Nâis, the Nâmdeopanthi cotton printers have been separated from their caste-fellows by the superior purity of their belief, and now form a separate sub-caste, shown in the caste returns as Nâmdeobansi.[1] They employ Brâhmans as their priests; to the east these are usually Sarwariyas; to the west Saraswat, Kanaujiya and Gaur Brâhmans serve them. They burn their dead in the orthodox way, and throw the ashes, if possible, into the Ganges or one of its tributaries. On the day of the Diwâli they worship the dies with which they stamp the cloth as fetishes. The more careful perform the annual *srâddha* during the *pitrápaksha* or fortnight sacred to the sainted dead in the month of Kuâr.

Occupation and social status.

6. The great centres of the calico printing trade in these provinces are Lucknow, Fatehgarh, Bulandshahr, and Mirzapur, where it is largely in the hands of a colony of Sâdhs from Fatehgarh. In Lucknow, according to Mr. Hoey,[2] there are three different classes of cotton printers who pass under the same name and use similar dyes. The first class is the stamper of real or imitation gold or silver leaf on coloured cotton fabrics for use as palanquin covers, curtains (*parda*), bed covers, (*lihâf*), quilts, etc. The process is simple but ingenious. The Chhîpi makes a mixture of gum, chalk, and glue. He stamps the pattern on the fabrics with this mixture by means of a wooden die. He then lays strips of silver leaf over the pattern traced in this way, and taps it gently with a pad. The leaf adheres to the gummy lines of the pattern stamped, and comes away from the unstamped surface. The process of stamping an imitation of silver differs.

[1] *Census Report, North-West Provinces*, 1891, p. 235. For a further account of Nâmdeo, see *Dhuniya*, 6.

[2] *Monograph*, 83-89.

The Chhîpi in this case mixes pewter (*ranga*), gum, glue, and chalk and stamps the pattern right off. After it dries he rubs it over with a piece of wood (*mura*), and this gives a gloss to the inferior metal. The second class mark patterns on muslin for embroiderers (*chikandoz*), and the third prints cotton fabrics in fast colours for use as quilts, sheets, bed covers, table cloths, etc. The Chhîpi, as a rule, ranks fairly high in social estimation. To the east of the Province he does not drink spirits or eat any meat. All Hindus, including Brâhmans will, it is said, eat *pakki* cooked by him, and tribes like the Kahâr will eat *kachchi* prepared by him. In Fatehgarh he will eat *pakki* prepared by Agarwâla Banyas, and *kachchi* by Gaur Brâhmans. Water they drink from the vessel of a Brâhman or Banya, but they will smoke only from the pipe of a member of the tribe. Brâhmans will eat *pakki* prepared by them; Nâis and Mâlis will eat *kachchi* cooked by them, and drink from their *vessels*.

Distribution of the Chhîpis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Gole.	Namdeobansi.	Reli.	Tank.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn . . .	...	49	...	...	32	...	81
Sahâranpur . . .	...	...	337	1,643	1,474	8	3,462
Muzaffarnagar . .	...	...	116	1,366	204	302	1,988
Meerut . . .	...	...	698	1,020	2,176	105	3,999
Bulandshahr . . .	...	260	488	49	558	...	1,355
Aligarh . . .	...	...	...	...	1,357	...	1,357
Mathura . . .	227	27	...	124	914	...	1,342
Agra	...	31	...	...	1,215	...	1,246
Farrukhâbâd . . .	...	...	...	...	75	...	75
Mainpuri . . .	...	...	...	...	7	39	46
Etâwah . . .	...	...	...	...	54	5	59
Etah	...	...	...	...	70	31	101
Bareilly . . .	...	...	322	...	419	...	741
Bijnor . . .	...	...	237	958	190	5,391	6,776

Distribution of the Chhîpis according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Gole.	Nâmdeobansi.	Reli.	Tânk.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Budâun . .	...	8	...	29	210	1	248
Morâdâbâd . . .	...	130	1,219	123	674	1,444	3,590
Shâhjahânpur . .	...	...	...	...	31	221	225
Pilbhît . . .	...	4	21	...	33	23	81
Cawnpur . . .	...	...	...	...	30	131	161
Fatehpur . . .	...	...	...	...	...	508	508
Bânda	...	...	...	...	...	380	380
Hamîrpur . . .	...	50	...	...	1,341	192	1,583
Allahâbâd . . .	...	...	...	...	29	530	559
Jhânsi . . .	...	17	...	...	695	30	742
Jâlaun . . .	...	77	...	...	409	...	486
Lalitpur . . .	...	89	...	...	209	...	298
Benares . . .	...	...	...	...	19	...	19
Jaunpur . . .	...	...	...	...	...	42	42
Basti	...	...	...	...	156	...	156
Tarâi . . .	...	...	171	...	26	2,425	2,622
Lucknow . . .	...	...	...	...	5	6	11
Unâo	...	...	...	...	17	...	17
Râê Bareli . . .	...	...	...	...	137	...	137
Sîtapur . . .	...	...	...	...	73	...	73
Kheri	..	17	...	...	294	2	313
Faizâbâd . . .	...	...	...	...	9	1	10
Gonda . . .	...	...	...	...	149	...	149
Bahrâich . . .	...	...	...	...	1	3	4
Partâbgarh . . .	...	...	...	...	...	51	51
Total .	227	759	3,609	5,312	13,292	11,871	35,120

Chishti; Chishtiya.—The best available account of this class of Muhammadan faqîrs is that of Mr. Maclagan[1] :—"The Chishtis trace their origin to one Abu Ishâq, ninth in succession from Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad, who migrating from Asia Minor, settled down at a village called Chisht in Khurasân and became thus the religious preceptor of a large body of Musalmâns. One of his successors, Khwâja Muîn-ud-dîn Chishti, a native of Sanjar, in Persia, having migrated to India in the time of Ghiâs-ud-dîn Balban, settled in Ajmer, and was the means of establishing the order in India. His Khalîfa or immediate successor was Khwâja Qutb-ud-dîn Bakhtiâr Kâki, who is buried near the Qutb Minâr at Delhi, and Qutb-ud-dîn's successor was the celebrated Bâba Farîd Shakkarganj, whose shrine is at Pâkpatan in the Montgomery District. The surname of this saint is said to be derived from the fact that owing to the purity of his body all he ate became sugar; if we may trust another story, he nourished himself by holding to his stomach wooden cakes and fruits when he felt hungry. This miraculous but inexpensive provender is still preserved. An immense fair is held at this shrine every year, and the object of every pilgrim who attends is to get through the narrow gate of the shrine on the afternoon or night of the fifth Muharram. The saint is adored by Hindu sas well as Musalmâns, and to be a disciple of Bâba Farîd does not necessarily imply being a Chishti, and, again, the descendants of the saint and his relations, carnal and spiritual, have formed themselves into a separate caste of men who are found on the Satlaj in the Montgomery District, and who, though bearing the name of Chishti, are now in all respects an ordinary lay caste, quite apart from the religious order of the same name.

2. "Bâba Farîd had two disciples, one of these was Ali Ahmad, surnamed Sâbir, whose shrine is at Pîran Kaliyar near Rurki,[2] and whose followers are known as Sâbir Chishtis, the other was the celebrated and mysterious Nizâm-ud-dîn Auliya (1232-1324 A.D.), around whose tomb are collected some of the choicest monuments of ancient Delhi, and whose desciples are known as Nizâmis.

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[1] *Panjâb Census Report*, 193.

[2] The Pîran Kaliyar fair is held on the Ganges Canal, about four miles north-east of Rurki. Its date is the first of the month Rabi-ul-awwal. By Hindus it is largely attended, and is by them supposed to celebrate the death of Râja Karan.

3. "The Chishtis in repeating the profession of faith lay a particular stress on the words *Illa 'lláhu*, repeating these with great violence, and shaking, at the same time their heads and the upper parts of their bodies. The sect is said to be specially affected by Shiahs, and it is distinguished by its adoption of vocal music in its religious services. The members of the order are worked up by these religious songs to a high pitch of excitement, and often sink down exhausted. They frequently wear coloured clothes, especially clothes dyed with ochre or with the bark of the acacia tree. Their principal shrines in the Panjâb are the tomb of Nizâm-ud-dîn Auliya at Delhi, the Khângâh of Mîrân Bhîk in Ambâla, the shrine of Bâba Farîd at Pâkpatan, and the Khângâh of Hazrat Sulaimân at Taunsa in the Dera Ghâzi Khân District."

4. The Dargâh of Khwâja Muîn-ud-dîn Chishti at Ajmer is an object of veneration and pilgrimage to all religions and sects. The Emperor Akbar made a pilgrimage on foot to this tomb, and the Banyas of the Dargâh Bâzâr daily lay their keys on the steps of the shrine before opening their shops. Khwâja Muîn-ud-dîn Chishti is said to have died in the year 1235 A.D. at the age of ninety-seven, and to have come to Ajmer at the age of fifty-two. At Madîna a voice is said to have come to him from the tomb of the prophet directing him to go to Ajmer and convert the infidels. "He obeyed the call, and on his arrival at Ajmer rested on a spot, now known as the Kangara Masjid in the Dargâh, where at the time the King's camels were tethered. From this he was ejected and went and took up his abode on the hill, which overlooks the Anasâgar, the margin of which lake he found covered with idol temples. The idolators, enraged at the slaughter of kids by the Musalmâns, conspired to massacre them; but coming in sight of the Khwâja, they remained rooted to the spot, and though they tried to ejaculate *Râm! Râm!* could only articulate *Rahîm! Rahîm!* In vain did the idolators, led by the great sorceror Ajaypâl, and the Deota Shâdi Deo, renew their attacks. They were defeated on every occasion, and finally begged forgiveness of the Khwâja, and invited him to come and take up his abode in the town.[1]" One peculiar observance at the Dargâh is the looting of boiled rice from great cauldrons which are filled by pious worshippers.

5. Another famous place of Chishti pilgrimage is the tomb of the saint Salîm Chishti, by whose intercession a son was born at

[1] *Râjputâna Gazetteer*, II, 6189.

Fatehpur Sikri to the Emperor Akbar, and named Salîm after the saint. He was subsequently Emperor in the name of Jahângîr.

Distribution of the Chishtis according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Dehra Dûn	108	Bânda	45
Sahâranpur	486	Hamîrpur	312
Muzaffarnagar	16	Allahâbâd	153
Meerut	6	Lalitpur	14
Bulandshahr	260	Jaunpur	183
Aligarh	88	Ghâzipur	152
Mathura	20	Ballia	19
Agra	52	Basti	337
Farrukhâbâd	3	Azamgarh	955
Mainpuri	32	Lucknow	45
Etâwah	17	Unâo	2
Etah	44	Râê Bareli	117
Bareilly	175	Sîtapur	68
Bijnor	115	Kheri	18
Budâun	98	Faizâbâd	38
Morâdâbâd	53	Gonda	377
Shâhjahânpur	20	Bahrâich	36
Pilibhît	76	Sultânpur	328
Cawnpur	2	Bârabanki	227
Fatehpur	44		
		Total	5,141

Chûrihâr.—(Sanskrit *chûda-kâra*).—A maker of glass bangles. Another name for the caste is Manihâr (Sanskrit *mani*, a "jewel," *kâra*) or Kachera (*kâch*, Sanskrit *kâcha*, "glass"). The Lakhera makes bangles from lac (*lâkh*, Sanskrit *laksha*). The bangles

are ornamented with foil (*panni*), beads (*pot*), counterfeit stones (*nagîna*).[1]

2. The caste is, judging from its sectional divisions, of mixed origin. Out of one hundred and eleven names recorded in the Census Returns, the number of local sections is remarkable, such as Baksariya, Bhojpuriya, Dakkhinâha, Gopâlpuriya, Kanaujiya, Kânhpuriya, Makanpuriya, Naikanpuriya, Purabiya, Sarwariya, Sankarpuriya, Shaikhpuriya, Sikandarpuriya, Srivâstab, Sispuriya, Sîtalpuriya, Sukalpuriya, Sûrajpuriya, Tâjpuriya. Besides these are some named from or connected with other castes, as Bais, Chauhân, Julâha, Kachhwâha, Kâkan, Nûrbâf, Sengara, and Tarkihâr. Others are occupational, as Sâbungar (soap-makers), Mirdaha (heralds), Jonkwâr (leech men). The Jhusiya take their name from the old town of Jhusi on the Ganges in the Allahâbâd District.[2] Another is Todarmali, which takes its name from Akbar's revenue minister. Besides these are the Bannait, Chelaha, and Solasinghi, of which the origin is doubtful. All these sub-divisions are endogamous and practise the ordinary Muhammadan rules of prohibited degrees. In Mirzapur they represent their head-quarters to be Allahâbâd, and say that they emigrated from there some five or six generations ago. They do not admit male outsiders into the caste, but admit females, who are converted to Islâm and married to members of the caste after passages from the Qurân have been read over them and the clansmen feasted.

Marriage rules.

3. They practise infant marriage, marrying children between the ages of five and ten. They have the usual three forms of marriage—*charhauwa*, where the bridegroom goes in procession to the bride's house and marries her there; *dola*, practised by poor people, where the bride is brought home quietly and the clansmen entertained; and *sagâi* for widows. Marriage is performed in the usual Muhammadan form, and the binding portion of the ceremony is the reading of the Sharah by the Qâzi or some literate person representing him. A widow may marry the younger brother of her deceased husband, but the

[1] For details and calculation of profits, see Hoey, *Monograph on Trades and Manufactures*, 147, *sqq*.

[2] Jhûsi must have been once an important place. It was the head-quarters of the kingdom of Harbong, and is connected with the legend of Gorakhnâth. Elliot, *Supplemental Glossary*, *s.v.*, *Harbong ka râj*: *Gazetteer*, *N.-W. P.*, VIII, Part II, 189, *sqq*.

levirate is not enforced. If a woman commit adultery or is habitually disobedient to the orders of her husband, he can divorce her by leave of the tribal council (*panchâyat*). A woman cannot divorce her husband, but can complain to the council if he is faithless to her or ill-treats her. When a husband divorces his wife he gives her three and-a-half rupees. They have a special tribal rule of succession, partly following Hindu and partly Muhammadan rules, but adhering closely to the former.

Religion.

4. They are Muhammadans of the Sunni sect, but have various tribal deities of diverse origin. Kâlika is one of the forms of Hindu mother worship.[1] Sahja Mâi is the feminine element in the quintette of the Panchonpîr. Her worship is common in Bihar.[2] Hardiha or Hardaur Lâla, one of the agregate of the collective village gods (*Deohâr*), and three Muhammadan saints known as Ghaus Pir, Barê Pîr, and Ghâzi Miyân are also venerated. These deities are worshipped in the months of Kârttik and Jeth with offerings of fowls and rice boiled in milk with sugar (*khîr*). They bury their dead in a graveyard like ordinary Muhammadans. At the festivals of the 'Id and Baqar 'Id they offer food to the spirits of the dead (*purkha log*). To those who have died a violent or unusual death special offerings are made of rice milk (*khîr*) at the 'Id, and the halwa sweetmeat at the Baqar 'Id. Some females on certain days in the week offer a fire offering (*hom*) to the traditional teacher (*ustâd*) of the trade, whose name they have forgotten.

Occupation and social status.

5. Their primary occupation is making glass bangles.[3] Many have taken to agriculture and dealing in hides and horns. The women have a good reputation; they are not secluded, but go about village fairs selling bangles. The use of liquor has been prohibited by the council in quite recent years. They eat the flesh of the cow, goat, sheep, camel, fowls, fish, and all kinds of deer. They will not eat food touched by a Mehtar, Hela, Chamâr or Dom. Women will not eat food touched by any Hindu. All Muhammadans eat and smoke with them, and they say that Doms and Chamârs will eat food touched by them.

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[1] See Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 227.

[2] Grierson, *Behâr Peasant Life*, 403.

[3] A full list of the implements used will be found in Grierson *Behâr Peasant Life*, 108, *sqq.*, and *Rural and Agricultural Glossary*, *s.v.*, *Chûrihâr*.

Distribution of the Chûrihârs by the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Mathura	21	Lalitpur	113
Agra	155	Faizâbâd . . .	54
Bânda	232	Bahrâich . . .	29
Allahâbâd . . .	7		
Jhânsi	92	Total .	703

D.

Dabgar—(Sans: *darvakâra*, "a maker of any spoon-shaped vessel").—The caste who make the raw hide jars in which oil, clarified butter, etc., are carried.

They are also known as Kuppêsâz, from *kuppa*, the leather vessel which they make (Sans: *kûpa*, *kutupa*). They have a Hindu and Muhammadan section, but no regular sub-castes. They are divided into *gotras*, of which the most common to the east of the Province is the Sribâstab, who take their name from the old town of Srâvasti, in the Gonda District.

Others are Dehliwâl, Dari, Mochi, Sripat, and Bengar. The Census lists give for the Hindu branch Bankar, Benbansi, Dhâlgar or "Shield-makers," Goliwâla, Jâti, Kanaujiya, and Sribâstab, and for the Muhammadan Panjâbi.

It is possible that they are an occupational offshoot from the Chamârs.

Occupation.

2. The Dabgar makes usually two classes of vessel, the *kuppa*, or large oil and butter jar, and the *phuleli*, a sort of little phial for holding scented oil, which may be seen in the bâzârs hung up over the shops of the Gandhi or perfumer. These vessels are made of the clippings (*katran*) or the scrapings (*gûdar*, *chhîlan*) of raw hides. These he cuts up, crushes and bruises in water till they become a soft, pulpy mass. This he plasters over a mould of soft clay made in the shape of the vessel which he proposes to produce. The leather pulp is laid on in layers. He then shapes the neck on an earthen ring and dries the vessel in the sun. The inner core is extracted and the mouth-ring left to give stability to the vessel. Vessels of this kind are doubtless a very primitive survival of the leather bottle which was universally used by all nomad tribes.[1]

Marriage and social customs.

3. There is nothing peculiar in their marriage customs, and their rule of exogamy is of the ordinary type. To the east of the Province they are worshippers of the Pânchonpîr, to whom they offer a mixture of pepper and sugar (*mirchwân*), which is poured on the shrine, and the remainder drunk by the worshippers. Sometimes they also offer in the same way cakes (*pûri*), sweets, and, when serious trouble comes, a he-goat.

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[1] Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 260, *Note*.

Distribution of Dabgars according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Sahâranpur	...	5	5
Mathura	...	1	1
Etâwah	...	65	65
Shâhjahânpur	32	...	32
Pilibhît	83	...	83
Cawnpur	53	...	53
Fatehpur	5	21	26
Hamîrpur	...	5	5
Allahâbâd	41	10	51
Jâlaun	...	16	16
Ghâzipur	132	...	132
Ballia	230	...	230
Gorakhpur	330	...	330
Basti	88	...	88
Azamgarh	223	...	223
Kheri	76	...	76
Gonda	...	6	6
Bahrâich	60	...	60
Total .	1,353	129	1,482

Dâdupanthi.—A Vaishnava sect which derives its name from Dâdu, a Dhuniya or cotton-carder by caste, who died in 1703 A.D. He was, according to popular belief, a direct successor of Râmanand, and the line of descent is given—Râmanand, Kabír, Kamâl, Jamâl, Budhdhan, and Dâdu. Dâdu was born at Ahmadâbâd, in Gujarât, and at the age of twelve migrated to Sambhar, and then to a place called Naraina, about fifty miles south-west of Jaypur. There, at the age of thirty-seven, a voice from heaven enjoined him to renounce the world and pass his life in doing good to mankind and in devotion. His biographer, Jân

Gopâl, in a biography containing 2,864 lines, describes how he spent his life in the country between Ahmadâbâd, Delhi and Agra, teaching, discussing, and making many disciples. He seems to have lived a good deal at Amber, the old capital of Jaypur. He had frequent interviews with the Emperor Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri, and some wonderful stories are told of his miracles and adventures there. Finally in the neighbourhood of Naraina he was absorbed into the godhead in 1603 A.D. He is said to have had fifty-two disciples who spread his doctrinest hrough Râjputâna and the neighbouring Provinces.

The chief of these were Rajab, Gharîb Dâs, and Sundar Dâs, and others also are named, such as Jaisa, Prayâg Dâs, Bakhnagi, Sankar Dâs, Bâba Sânwari Dâs, and Mâdho Dâs. Of these Rajab, the first disciple of Dâdu, was a Musalmân, and his Hindu followers are sometimes known by the name Uttarâdhi, as distinguished from the Nâga, who are Hindus. The latter take their name from the Sanskrit *nagnaka*, "a naked ascetic."

2. The Dâdupanthis are usually divided into the Virakta, or "those void of attachment to worldly objects," who go bare-headed, wear only a single garment, and carry a drinking vessel; the Nâga or "naked ascetics," and the Vastradhâri, or "those who wear clothes" and lead a family life. They have, in fact, like most religious communities in India, an exoteric and an esoteric order. The exoteric or uninitiated are the householders and disciples of the Swâmi Sâdhu, or initiated order. These householders (*grihastha*) read, believe, and practise certain of the doctrines of the Bâni or book of songs, which embody the rules of the sect, and furnish the Dâdupanthi Swâmi with food and accommodation when he visits their villages. They are not put out of caste for becoming disciples (*chela*), and so retain all their marriage and social rights and privileges.

Those of high caste retain their Brâhmanical cord (*janeú*) and other charms, and are frequently found in the temples at idol worship. They regularly attend the fairs (*mela*) of the sect and provide for the support of the mendicant members of the community.

3. The esoteric branch are known as Swâmi, "master;" Sâdhu, "saint;" Sant, "holy man," or Guru, "teacher." They renounce the world and live under rules of celibacy and chastity, which are very strictly enforced. Some of them are teachers (*guru*), of whom many are good scholars and have a large following of disciples to

whom they teach the *bâni*. These wander about the country and are entertained by the faithful. Others are mere beggars without any learning. They usually beg from door to door, wear ochre-coloured clothes, and the bead necklace which is forbidden by the strict rules of the order. Others practise worldly professions. Thus some of the richest money-lenders in Jaypur are Dâdupanthis; others are doctors, who have no knowledge of scientific surgery or physic, and merely know some Sanskrit verses and charms for the treatment of disease; a few keep grocery shops; others sell milk.

4. The Nâga or Military Dâdupanthis live in seven camps or villages in the neighbourhood of Jaypur. Their pay is one anna per able-bodied man a day. They are occasionally sent out to coerce revenue defaulters. They are never all out on duty at the same time, and while they are employed they are paid at the rate of two annas *per diem*. Those left at home cultivate land, breed camels or lend money. Their founder is said to have been Bhîm Sinh, a younger brother of one of the Râjas of Bikâner. They have done good service to the State in former times, and were faithful in the Mutiny. They are simple, quiet men, but now hardly deserve the name of soldier. They are recruited by adoption from all the higher Hindu castes, and as a natural result of a generation of peace their numbers have much reduced.

5. Dâdu appears to have taught the unity of God. "To this day," says Mr. Coldstream,[1] "the Dâdupanthis use the phrase *Sat Râm*, the True God, as a current phrase expressive of their creed. He forbids the worship of idols and did not build temples; now temples are built by his followers, who say that in them they worship "The Book." "The worship," according to Professor Wilson, "is addressed to Râma, but it is restricted to the *Japa* or repetition of his name, and the Râma intended is the deity negatively described in the Vedanta theology." In fact the doctrine of Dâdu is sometimes described as pantheistic. The religious works of the sect contain many of the sayings of Kabîr. The chief of these are the Dâdubâni, the Sakya-granth and the Janamlîla, which contains an account of the Guru and his disciples. In the Panjâb the celibates of to-day wear white cloths in contrast to most other Sâdhs who wear ochre-coloured clothes. They abjure flesh and wine, and they shave both beard and moustache. They wear necklaces and

[1] Maclagan, *Panjâb Settlement Report*, 147.

have white round caps on their heads, to which is attached a piece of cloth which hangs down the back.

6. At the Census of 1891 there were only five members of this sect recorded in these Provinces, of whom four were found in the Sahâranpur and one in the Muzaffarnagar District.

Distribution of the Nâgas and Dâdupanthis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Dâdupanthis.	Nâgas.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	...	3	3
Sahâranpur	4	14	18
Muzaffarnagar	1	4	5
Aligarh	...	25	25
Agra	...	43	43
Mainpuri	...	2	2
Etah	...	4	4
Shâhjahânpur	...	7	7
Fatehpur	...	2	2
Bânda	...	1	1
Hamîrpur	...	5	5
Allahâbâd	...	3	3
Gorakhpur	...	4	4
Basti	...	280	280
Garhwâl	...	13	13
Tarâi	...	1	1
Total .	5	411	416
	Males .	335	
	Females .	76	

Dafâli.[1]—A tribe of beggars and musicians who are found throughout the Province except the Hills, and take their name from

[1] Mainly based on information collected at Mirzapur.

the *daf* or tambourine which they play. According to their own account they are allied to the Madâris; but there is this difference, that the Dafâlis worship Sayyid Sâlâr Ghâzi, of Bahrâich, and the Madâris, Madâr Sahib, of Makhanpur. Both are called Darwesh, but the Dafâlis try to distinguish the tribes by calling themselves Darwesh and the Madâris Durwesh. They say that they are the descendants of Roshan Darwesh, to whom they make an occasional offering of cakes and burn incense.

Tribal organisation.

2. In the Census Returns they are recorded under sixty-seven sections: but these appear to have no influence on marriages. Some of these are purely Muhammadan titles, as Ansâri, Quraishi, Lodi, Madariya, Mirâsi, Mujâwir, Sadîqi, and Sunni: others are Hindu names, as Jât, Jhojha, Râjput, Rânghar: others are local, as Bahrâichi, Dakkhinâha, and Uttarâha. They have a council (*panchâyat*) under a hereditary president (*chaudhari*), which generally meets at marriages and funerals and settles cases of breach of tribal rules. Offenders are usually fined in sums varying from five to ten annas. The money thus collected is spent in feeding the clansmen.

Marriage rules.

3. They practise the ordinary Muhammadan law of exogamy, but object to marry their daughters into families which reverence different saints or godlings. A man cannot marry a second wife in the lifetime of the first without her consent. Divorce is permitted for infidelity, and also if one party become an idiot, lunatic, or suffer serious mutilation. But in all cases the divorce must be with the sanction of the tribal council. Widow-marriage and the levirate with the usual restrictions are both allowed. Divorced persons can remarry in the tribe, provided they were not divorced for any serious violation of caste custom.. The usual service (*sharah*) is read at marriages by one of the tribe who is known for the nonce as Maulavi.

Birth.

4. There are no ceremonies during pregnancy, except the tying round the woman's neck of a charm to ward off the evil spirits which attack the mother. When parturition is delayed she is given water to drink in which a sword has been washed, and the person who draws the water must do so with his right hand only. When the child is born a Chamârin is called in to cut the cord. She remains in attendance only one day, and her place is then taken by the wife of the barber. The mother is isolated for twelve days; but she is allowed to cook and do

other household work. On the twelfth day is the *barahi*, when a dinner consisting of *urad* pulse, rice and meat is given to the brotherhood. When the dinner is over some sweetmeats are offered to Ghâzi Miyân, and then distributed among those present. When the child is a year old they take it and the mother, if possible, to the Ganges in the month of Bhâdon during the asterism (*nakshatra*) of Magha. The mother makes a little paper boat, and in it she puts a garland of flowers, a lamp, sugar, and bread, to which some add betel, and lets it float down the stream. This, a custom derived from their Hindu neighbours, is known as Ganga pujaiya. When a boy is seven years old they perform the rite of circumcision (*Musalmâni*). This is usually done at the 'Id, Baqrîd, and Muharram. The friends are invited; a square is marked out in the courtyard, and the friends sit round. The boy is bathed by the barber and dressed in new clothes. Then his father's sister's husband (*phûpha*) takes him in his arms to the nearest mosque to pray. On their return the boy is given a dose of *ma'jûm*, and when the narcotic begins to take effect he is placed in the square by his uncle (*phûpha*) and seated facing the west. Then the barber performs the operation invoking God and the Prophet. The only application used for the wound is some rose water. After the operation is over the boy's father gives a turban, *lota*, and a few annas to the barber, and each of the friends present puts a pice or two into his cup. After this a dinner of meat and bread is served. When the wound is cured the barber bathes the boy again, and receives some grain and a money present.[1] When they adopt they usually adopt their son-in-law, or in default of him preference is given to a brother's son. No adoption is valid unless publicly communicated to the assembled clansmen. A feast is given and the adoption formally declared.

Marriage ceremonies.

5. As an instance of a low caste Muhammadan wedding that of a Dafâli may be described. The betrothal is arranged by some friend of both parties. When both parties agree, on an auspicious day selected by the village Pandit the bride's father takes to the house of the bridegroom a ring and handkerchief on her behalf. These are accepted, and the boy's father announces to the assembled friends that the marriage will take place. On this the girl's father pays two and-a-half annas,

[1] For the regular circumcision ritual, see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I, 71.

and the boy's father five annas, and with this sugar is bought and served round, after being offered to God and the Prophet. Next morning the girl's father returns home. Some time after the boy's father pays a visit to the bride and makes her a present of bangles (*chûri*), a suit of clothes (*tul kapra*), a bodice (*choli*), and some sweets. After a meeting of the tribesmen the wedding day is fixed. Poor people, however, send the girl beforehand to her husband, and any ceremony they can afford to do is done at his house. On the day before the wedding is the *ratjaga*, when the women sit up all night and spend their time making sweet cakes (*gulgula*). These are offered next morning to God and the Prophet, and to the spirits of the ancestors of the family. They are then distributed among the guests. The bridegroom is bathed and dressed in a yellow coat (*jâma*), trousers, and a turban. A large chaplet (*sehra*) hangs down from head to knee. He rides to the bride's house followed by his friends playing on the *dafla*. They halt under a tree near the village, and from there the boy's father sends a present of bangles, clothes, curds, oil, and henna. Then they come to the girl's house, where the service is read by some old man of the tribe who can read or repeat the words. Some sugar is put close by which is distributed among the guests, and the marriage feast, consisting of sugar, rice, and curds, is served. This is known as *shakarâna*, or "the sugar feast." Next day the bride's father gives presents to her barber, bangle-maker, water-woman, and the village watchman, and then starts for the place where the bridegroom's party are staying, with a basket containing vessels, grain and anything else he can afford to give as the dowry of his daughter. He places these before the father of the bridegroom, and asks his forgiveness for not being able to give more. The bridegroom's father says the same, and they exchange compliments. After this the dowry basket is passed round, and all the friends present contribute as far as their means will go. This is termed "the giving of the dowry" (*jahez dilâna*). The husband then takes his wife away, and when he returns home he entertains his clansmen on curds, sugar, and rice, and next day gives them a regular dinner of bread and meat.

Every one present contributes two annas as dowry. After this the Ganga pujaiya is done, as already described at births, and the whole business ends with an offering of rice, curds, and sugar to Ghâzi Miyân, which is divided among the audience.

6. The funeral is carried out in the usual way of Muhammadans. When it is over the mourners assemble at the house of the deceased and drink sharbat. On the fourth day they again assemble, and some verses of the Qurân are read over a vessel containing some sweets (*batâsha*), grain, and oil. This is known as *kul parhan*, and the contents of the vessel are divided among the audience. The clansmen are fed on *urad* pulse and rice, and the faqîr in charge of the grave is given a present. On the tenth and twentieth day bread and meat are offered to the spirit of the dead man, and on the fortieth day a final dinner is given, and next morning they put the clothes, beads, and water vessel (*badhana*) of the deceased on his bed and take them to his grave, where they are left for any one who wishes to carry them away. An offering of food is made to the family dead at the Shab-i-barât.

Death ceremonies.

7. Their tribal deities are chiefly Kâlika, Sahjâdi, and Ghâzi Miyân, three of the quintette of the Pânch Pîr. To Kâlika areoffered in the month of Aghan bread and rice cooked in milk. Sahjâdi is worshipped at the same time. Ghâzi Mîyan's day is the first Sunday in the month of Jeth, when his wedding is celebrated. Animal sacrifices are made, and the meat is consumed by the worshippers. They also worship a number of local martyrs (*shahîd*), and they are in great fear of various demons and ghosts.

Religion.

8. The Dafâli is a beggar, and goes about with a wallet (*jhori*) in which he collects what he can get. But he also acts as a sort of hedge priest to the lower class Musalmâns, and officiates at marriages, funerals, and the like, for people who cannot afford to pay for the services of the regular Qâzi. They beg in beats, and each house has its body of parishioners (*jajmân*). One of their chief duties is the exorcising of evil spirits by beating the drum, and driving the effects of the Evil Eye from children. When a man's children do not live he gets the Dafâli to tie a string (*baddhi*) round the neck of the baby. They are particularly conspicuous at the fairs of Ghâzi Miyân, whose shrines they tend, act as his priests, and receive the offerings.

Occupation.

Distribution of the Dafâlis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	98	Jâlaun	83
Sahâranpur . . .	4,151	Lalitpur	...
Muzaffarnagar . . .	1,797	Benares	2,012
Meerut	1,733	Mirzapur . . .	1,739
Bulandshahr . . .	11	Jaunpur . . .	2,442
Aligarh	211	Ghâzipur . . .	652
Mathura	52	Ballia	439
Agra	118	Gorakhpur . . .	2,205
Farrukhâbâd . . .	360	Basti	2,416
Mainpuri . . .	153	Azamgarh . . .	1,189
Etâwah	209	Tarâi	216
Etah	408	Lucknow . . .	378
Bareilly	1,813	Unâo	355
Bijnor	162	Râê Bareli . . .	882
Budaun	788	Sîtapur	677
Morâdâbâd . . .	315	Hardoi	287
Shâhjahânpur . . .	666	Kheri	90
Pilibhît	472	Faizâbâd . . .	1,934
Cawnpur	149	Gonda	2,214
Fatehpur . . .	289	Bahrâich . . .	1,770
Bânda	250	Sultânpur . . .	1,836
Hamîrpur . . .	121	Partâbgarh . . .	
Allahâbâd . . .	1,998	Bârabanki . . .	1,335
Jhânsi	21	Total .	42,075

Dalera.[1]—A tribe of basket-makers, day-labourers, and thieves

[1] From notes by Pandit Janardan Datt Joshi, Deputy Collector, Bareilly, and *Report, Inspector-General of Police, N.-W. P.*, 1869, p. 125, *sqq.*

found in Bareilly and the Tarâi. The name is derived from the Hindi *daliya*, "a basket." A common half humourous derivation is from *diler*, "venturesome." According to the tribal tradition a Bargûjar Thâkur once violated a Kahâr woman and was excommunicated. His descendants are the present Daleras. They are supposed to be closely allied both to Khâgis and Mallâhs. Their head-quarters in Bareilly are at the village of Ginganwa, in Tahsîl Aonla. They are also found at Munjkhera, in the Bulandshahr District. They have no distinct traditions regarding their place of origin, except that they came from somewhere in the South about a hundred years ago. The Bareilly story is that they were driven from Meerut and Bulandshahr by a famine.

2. Their sections, of which the last Census Returns enumerate forty-four, do not throw much light on their origin. Many are derived from well-known tribes, as Bais, Barai, Bargûjar, Chauhân, Chiryamâr, Gurkha, Jâdubansi, Kânhpuriya, Mallâh.

Marriage rules.

3. Some of these are perhaps of totemistic origin, such as the Sirisiya of Bareilly, who will not cut or injure the *siris* tree (*acacia sirisa*). Their marriages are carried out according to the standard ritual in force among the higher Hindu castes.

Methods of thieving.

4. The Daleras will not thieve at night, and carry on their operations principally at fairs, bathing places, and the like. At such places a Dalera takes his seat near a pilgrim and pretends to cook. While his neighbour's attention is occupied, the Dalera steals his vessels or other property. When he steals a brass pot, he goes into the water and with an iron spike he carries, makes holes in it, which prevent the possibility of identification. Sometimes they make a mock disturbance in a bâzâr, and in the confusion snatch articles from shops which they rapidly pass into the hands of a confederate. Or they go dressed as Thâkurs or Brâhmans and make a boy steal while they keep the shop-keeper engaged. If the lads are caught they never give their correct age or address. The thief gets a double share of the booty, and most of the gains are spent in drink. If a boy is arrested his well-dressed companions intercede for him. In their methods of crime they closely resemble those of the Barwârs and Sanaurhiyas.

Distribution of the Daleras according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Bareilly . . .	2,009	Pilibhît . . .	6
Bijnor . . .	23	Gorakhpur . .	1
Morâdâbâd . . .	29	Tarâi	165
		Total .	2,233

Dângi.[1]—An agricultural tribe found chiefly in Jhânsi. The caste professes to derive its name from a certain Râja Dang, a Raghubansi Râjput, from whom they trace descent; but the word probably means no more than "hill-man" (Hindi, *dang*, "a hill"). They profess to be immigrants from a place called Nirver, in the Gwâlior State, with which, however, they appear to hold no connection by marriage or pilgrimage, selection of bards, priests, or barbers; and those at present resident in the Jhânsi District have come chiefly within comparatively recent times from the Datiya and Tîkamgarh States. They have nothing in the way of a genealogical tree or traditions connected with ancient sites or monuments which would throw any clear light on their origin; but there seems good reason to suspect that they may be connected with the Gond and similar races of the Central Indian plateau.

Sub-divisions.

2. They have no sub-tribes, but are divided into a number of exogamous *gotras*, among which we find in Jhânsi the Patra, Nirveriya, Disauriya, Chakauriya, Madhpuriya, Dhauriya, and Pariya. Of these the Nirveriya is derived from Nirver, their original settlement, and though local enquiries have failed to explain the meaning of the other terms, they are probably of similar local origin. Of the sixty-seven names given in the Census lists very few can be connected with those of other tribes, except perhaps the Basoriya, Luniya, Niyâriya, Pahriya, and Sarwariya. The others appear to be of purely local origin, and this would lead to the inference that the tribe has been little, if at all, exposed to foreign influence.

[1] Based on a series of notes by Munshi Râdha Raman, Deputy Collector, Jhânsi.

Tribal council.

3. There is no regular tribal council; but there are certain persons who are regarded in each group of villages as headmen (*mukhiya*), and they assemble a meeting of the adult householders whenever a case occurs demanding enquiry. They deal principally with questions of marriage, excommunication, and restoration to caste privileges.

Marriage rules.

4. Marriage is forbidden between members of the same *gotra* and between first cousins. There are no prohibitions of intermarriage based on difference of social status, geographical or local position, worship or occupation. But intermarriage of persons belonging to different religions is not permitted. When the bride arrives at her husband's house, his kinsmen make her small presents, which are known as *muchâi* or *munhdikhâi*, "the showing of her face." There is no restriction on the number of wives: a man marries as many as he can afford to keep. All the wives are much on the same footing; but the first wife is known as *Jethi* or senior, and is held in more respect in the family than those junior to her. They all live together unless they quarrel, which is very unusual: in fact the senior wife often urges her husband to marry again, as she thus obtains an assistant in house and field work. North of the River Betwa at least concubinage is permitted. Polyandry is prohibited. Little girls are allowed a considerable amount of freedom; but if an unmarried girl is detected in immorality, she is excommunicated, and her whole family as well, unless they discard her. The age for marriage is, for girls seven or eight; for boys twelve or thirteen. After betrothal the engagement is not voidable on account of disease or physical defect. The match is arranged by the parents, but those a little higher in the social scale employ a Brâhman and barber. The consent of the parents is absolutely necessary, and the parties have no freedom of choice. No price is paid for either bride or bridegroom, but when the betrothal (*tîka*) is being performed, the friends of the bride are expected to give the boy a present. Even idiocy, lunacy or impotence appearing after marriage are not grounds for annulling it. Divorce is permitted on the ground of adultery in the wife. It is generally done by word of mouth, and the woman is turned out of the house. But usually, even if there be no regular tribal enquiry, the husband does not divorce his wife without taking the opinion of four or five of the leading clansmen in an informal way. A divorced woman cannot be remarried in the regular way, but another man may take her as his concubine, in which case he

must give a dinner (*roti*) to the clansmen. Children by concubines, provided that they are women of the caste, have the same rights as offspring by regular marriages; but children who are the result of illicit connections which have not been condoned, or whose mothers were not members of the caste, are not admitted to tribal privileges and cannot marry in the caste.

Widow marriage.

5. Remarriage of widows is prohibited; but a man may take a widow of the caste to live with him without any ceremony, except the assent of the leading clansmen and the giving of a tribal feast. The levirate is allowed with the usual limitation, that it is only the younger brother who can claim the woman. But the widow is not compelled to live with her brother-in-law, and may set up house with an outsider, in which case the children of her first husband remain with his relations, and she loses all rights of maintenance in the household of her former husband. Her children by the first husband inherit his estate. If the first husband was childless his brothers inherit. There is no fiction that the children by the levir are supposed to belong to his dead brother.

Birth ceremonies.

6. There are no special observances during pregnancy. The Chamârin midwife attends and cuts the cord. During accouchement the mother adopts a sitting posture, and is held by the women of the family. After parturition is over the wife of the village barber acts as nurse. On the Dashtaun or tenth day the clansmen and friends are fed; the relations of the mother send her presents (*púch*) and soaked gram is distributed. There is no indication of the couvade. For ten days the women and her relations are considered impure and are not allowed to touch other people or engage in worship of the gods. There are no special customs in connection with twins.

Adoption. Puberty.

7. There is no special ritual in force at adoption. The clan people are invited; the men are fed on sweets and the women on soaked gram. There are no observances at the attainment of puberty.

Marriage ceremonies.

8. The person who goes to the boy's house to arrange the betrothal gives a cocoanut, some money, and a packet of betel (*pán*). This is the binding part of the ceremony, and the betrothal is then irreversible. Betrothal generally takes place when the girl is five or six years of age, and the consent of both parents is essential. There is no rule

for the repayment of the expenses if the marriage does not take place.

9. Seven days before the actual marriage ceremony the bride's father sends a letter (*lagan ki chitthi*) to the bridegroom's father fixing the date and hour of the marriage. A sum of money already agreed on accompanies this letter. When the procession starts to fetch the bride, they halt outside her village at a place prepared for them called the *Janwânsa*. In the evening they march in procession to the bride's house, being met half-way by her friends. At the door the *tîka* ceremony is performed, and another present in money equal to that sent with the *lagan* is made to the bridegroom. The bridegroom is then taken inside, where he throws a fan on the marriage shed (*mandap*) and returns to his party. Next day, after the dinner, and generally at night, the actual *Bhanwar* or perambulation of the bride and bridegroom round the sacred fire and the "giving away" of the girl (*kanyâdân*) are performed. The parents of the bride are not allowed to be present at the *Bhanwar* ceremony. On the third day the third dinner (*roti*) is given, and the ceremony of permitting the girl to go with her husband (*bidâi*) is done. Here, again, the bride's father makes a third present equal in value to the previous two, which is known as *bela* or "cup." It is optional with the parties to perform the ceremony of changing the seats of the married pair (*lautpatta*). In case this ceremony is performed at the marriage it is not necessary to repeat it when the bride is leaving for her husband's house. If done, then it is known as *Chauka*, and the presents made at it by the father of the bride must equal in value half the presents made at the marriage. The binding part of the marriage ceremony is the perambulations round the fire and the giving away of the bride. The only apparent survival of marriage by capture is the ceremony of *tîka* or *darwâza* performed the first day. In this his maternal uncle takes the bridegroom in his arms inside the house of the bride, and there he strikes the marriage hut with a fan. As he is going away the women of the family beat the man who is carrying him with their fists and shout, "He has struck the *mandap* and is going away."

Death ceremonies.

9. The dead are cremated and the ashes finally consigned to the Ganges. Immediately after death the corpse is covered with a piece of calico, white for men and red for women, and a few *pân* leaves are

put over the head and breast. No offerings are made, nor is the body washed at the house. When they reach the cremation ground (*ghât*) a fire is lighted and the corpse laid with the head facing the south. Offerings of sesamum (*til*) and barley are made, and sesamum, barley and honey placed on the eyes of the corpse. The pyre is then lit by the heir, and he finally breaks the skull (*kapâl kriya*) to release the spirit. On the third day the relatives and clansmen are shaved. In the case of males the obsequies go on for thirteen days, and on the last day at least thirteen Brâhmans or more are feasted. The usual *Srâddha* is performed at the Kanâgat or Pitrapaksha in the month of Kuâr. It is incumbent on the headman of the family during each of the sixteen days to pour a libation of water in honour of his deceased ancestors before he touches food or drink. The death ceremonies are carried out by the family priest, and in his absence by any Brâhman. There is no trace of the sister's son or other relatives on the female side exercising religious functions.

Purification.

10. The rules of ceremonial purification are carefully obeyed. Thus, if a person commit suicide on account of the misconduct of another, the offender is rigorously boycotted and is considered to bear the guilt (*hatya*) of the death. The same is the case with a man who has killed a cow, buffalo, or cat. The impurity after child-birth lasts for ten days. The death impurity lasts for ten days, except in the case of infants, when it is reduced to three days. The period of menstrual impurity extends to five days. The impurity due to death, child-birth, and menstruation is removed by the performance of the stated ceremonies, and by bathing after the expiration of the fixed period. But in the case of impurity due, as above described, to suicide or the killing of a cow, the matter is much more serious. The offender in order to purify himself is obliged to bathe in the Ganges, to feed the clansmen and Brâhmans, to perform the marriage ceremony of the Tulasi plant and the Sâlagrâma, or to pay all the expenses of the marriage of a pair of poor children in the caste. The interdict lasts until this expiation is undergone.

Religion.

11. Dângis are Hindus and worship all the ordinary deities, such as Râmachandra, Krishna, Mahâdeva, Durga, etc. They also worship the village godlings. Thus Sîtala is worshipped in the months of Asârh, Kuâr, and Chait, with an offering of boiled rice and cakes, pice and cowries; the food is taken by a Brâhman, the cash by a Mâli. Hardaul, the cholera

godling, is worshipped in Asârh, and during epidemics of the disease. His offerings are cakes, sweetmeats, and packets of betel. All these things, except the cakes, are taken by a Brâhman. Sîtala has usually a regular masonry shrine, while Hardaul has only a platform. These deities are chiefly worshipped by women and children, adult males seldom visit their shrines. At marriages they propitiate the sainted dead, whom they call *deva pitra*, but they have no definite idea of their nature or functions. An old snake represents Bhûmiya or the godling of the hamlet, and is worshipped in the month of Asârh (June—July). Their sacred trees are the *pîpal* (*Ficus religiosa*) and the *chhonkar* (*Prosopis spicigera*). Evil spirits (*bhût, pret*) are propitiated in cases of sickness supposed to be due to demoniacal agency. It is said that Brâhmans have no objection to eating *pakki roti* from the hands of Dângis. Their priests are Dûbê or Tiwâri Brâhmans, and are received on the same footing as other Brâhmans. Sometimes they have a Guru in addition to a Purohit; sometimes the same man fulfils both functions. They have a special festival known as the *maur chhût* or "loosing of the marriage crown," when in the month of Bhâdon the marriage crown of a pair who have been married during the year is thrown into the water. The only festival at which drunkenness is permitted is the Holi. The cows of the family are worshipped at the Diwâli and horses at the Dasahra.

Oaths and exorcism.

12. Oaths are made in the name of the Ganges and the Tulasi plant; in the name of the gods; by holding a *lota* full of Ganges water; by holding a son or grandson in the arms; by going to a shrine and opening the door at the time of swearing. Taking a false oath involves loss of property, disease, and death. Exorcism of evil spirits is in the hands of the Syâna, or "cunning man." Sickness due to the Evil Eye is relieved by waving some mustard and salt round the head of the patient, and then throwing it into the fire.

Social rules.

13. Meat is forbidden; some will not eat onions. They will not touch a Bhangi or Basor, or a person guilty of Hatya, as above described. Women are not allowed to touch the Sâlagrâma, and children under ten are not permitted to join in any religious celebration. They observe the usual taboo against the wife calling her husband by his name. It is said that at the Akhtîj festival, on the third of the light half of Baisâkh, the wife, in order to bring luck on the house, is obliged to

call her husband once by his name. They abstain from wine, the flesh of monkeys, beef, pork, flesh of cloven-footed and uncloven-footed animals, fowls, fish, and all kinds of vermin. The head of the family does not eat the *baingan* or egg-plant (*Solanum melongena*) from Asârh till the Deouthân feast in Kârttik, and this vegetable is not eaten on the eleventh day of the light and dark fortnights in each month. Women and men eat apart, and before eating two morsels are offered to the gods with folded hands, and a libation of water is poured on the ground. The use of intoxicating drugs is not forbidden, but excess use of them is considered disgraceful.

Salutation.

14. Their form of salutation is *Râm! Râm!* with the hand raised to the forehead.

15. They will eat close to Ahîrs, but not out of the same dish.

Food.

They will take food cooked by a Brâhman and will drink water from the hands of a Mâli, Kâchhi, Dhîmar, or Nâu. They will not smoke out of the pipe of a Basor, Bhangi, or Chamâr.

Occupation.

16. The Dângis are ordinary cultivators and practise no handicrafts.

Distribution of the Dângi according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.
Shâhjahânpur	9
Jhânsi	2,186
Jâlaun	74
Lalitpur	94
Total .	2,363

Darvesh.—A general Persian word for a faqîr. Mr. Platts derives it from the Zend root *drigh*, "to be poor, to beg," and compares the Sanskrit *darbh*, root *dribh* and *daridra*. The term in these Provinces does not seem to denote a special caste; but Mr. Ibbetson[1] notices in the Panjâb that there seems to be a colony of people of this name, who cultivate land, play musical instruments, beg, make ropes, go to a house where there has been a death and

[1] *Panjâb Ethnography*, para. 526.

chant the praises of the deceased, hang about mosques, and so forth. They are hardly ascetics, yet the small number of women seems to show that they have not yet formed into a separate caste, and are still recruited from outside.

Distribution of the Darvesh according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Farrukhâbâd . . .	390	Allahâbâd . . .	13
Mainpuri . . .	2	Jaunpur . . .	75
Etâwah . . .	3	Sitapur . . .	498
Pilibhît . . .		Kheri	92
		Total .	1,076

Daryadâsi.—A Vaishnava sect in the Ghâzipur district, founded by one Darya Dâs, a Vaishnava mendicant of the Koeri caste, whose followers now number 2,310.

Darzi.—(Persian *darz*, "a seam") the tailor caste: pedantically known as Khaiyât (Arabic *khaiyât*, "to sew").—The caste is purely occupational and consists of a Hindu as well as a Muhammadan branch. Like all similar so-called castes it shows a tendency to break up into endogamous occupational branches, such as the Rafugar or darner of old clothes, the Khaimadoz or tent-maker, and the Dastarband or maker of the elaborate turbans, such as are worn by office clerks and native servants. The patron saint of the Muhammadan branch is Ibrahîm or Abraham, who, according to them, practised the craft. In the month of Sâwan they make offerings to him of rice stew (*pulâo*) and cakes. These Musalmân Darzis take the titles of Shaikh and Khalîfa.

2. The Hindu Darzis are made up, as is shown by their exogamous sub-divisions, of various elements. Thus, among the five hundred and twenty-six sections of the Hindu and one hundred and forty-six of the Muhammadan branch, we find the names of many well-known tribes and castes, such as Agariya, Agarwâla, Atishbâz, Bâchhal, Baddhik, Baid, Bais, Baiswâr, Bâmhan, Baniyâna, Bargûjar, Benbans, Bhât, Chamâr, Chandeli, Chauhân, Chhatri,

Dhânuk, Gûjar, Gaur, Jâdon, Janwâr, Kachhwâhiya, Kâyasth, Kharwâr, Koli, Marâtha, Mukeri, Ojha, Panwâr, Râjput, Râthaur, Raghubansi, Sakarwâr, Solankhi, Sûrajbansi, Taga, Tânk, Tomar, and Turkiya. With these are many local titles, such as Bareli, Bathmi, or Srivâtsav, Bhadwariya, Bhâgalpuriya, Dilliwâl, Hardwâriya, Jaiswâr, Jalâlpuriya, Kânhpuriya, Mathur or Mathuriya, and Sarwariya. The Kâyasth caste has contributed many recruits to them who call themselves Sribâstab or Sribâstak Kâyasths from Dundiya Khera, the head-quarters of the Bais Râjputs. The name is derived from the town of Srâvasti, now Sahet Mahet in the Gonda district. In Garhwâl the Hindu Darzi is known as Bora, most of whom seem to be of the Dom tribe. In the Western Districts their endogamous sub-divisions are Râthaur, Mathuriya, Mahor, and Saksena (from Sankisa): of these the Râthaur, who claim descent from the Râjput tribe of that name, are the highest, and Mathuriya and Mahor, who are often contemptuously termed Chamar Sujiya or Chamârs' tailors, are the lowest. In Benares, according to Mr. Sherring, their sub-divisions are Sribâstav, Nâmdeo, Tânchara, Dhanesh, Panjâbi, Gaur, Kantak, and Saksena. Among sections locally important we find the Zahûri of Sahâranpur: the Chauhân and Jogi of Muzaffarnagar: the Sadîqi of Sîtapur: the Turkiya of Kheri, and the Pîrzâda of Gonda. The Musalmân Darzis follow the ordinary rules of Muhammadan exogamy; but it is said that there is now-a-days a tendency to replace these by the usual standard Hindu formula. Widows remarry by the *sagâi* or *kâj* form, and the levirate is optional.

Religion.

3. Though most of the Darzis in the east of the Province profess to be Sunni Muhammadans, they still cling to many Hindu usages. They worship Kâlika, Bhawâni, and the Pânchonpîr, among whom they particularly reverence Ghâzi Miyân.[1] These are worshipped in the month of Jeth, when the wedding of Ghâzi Miyân is commemorated. The offerings to them consist of rich cakes (*malîda*), bread, fowls, sweetmeats, melons, cucumbers, gram-flour, and cakes made of pulse and pumpkin (*konhrauri*). They bury their dead in the usual Muhammadan form, and lay offerings to the spirits of their deceased ancestors at the 'Id and Shab-i-barât. They are said to eat beef

[1] In Gujarât on the sixth day of the birth a pair of scissors covered with cloth is laid down, and the child made to bow to them.—*Bombay Gazetteer*, V, 73.

more freely than ordinary Muhammadans of their class. Those who are Hindus follow the rites and customs of the higher castes.

Occupation and social life.

4. The ordinary Darzi is a very low-paid and hard-worked craftsman. According to Mr. Hoey[1] in Lucknow the rate for making men's jackets (*angarkha*) is from three to eight annas according as the work is plain or more or less ornamented: for men's drawers (*mardâna pâéjâma*) one and-a-half to two annas: coats (*kurta*) one and-a-half annas: jackets (*salûka*) one and-a-half annas. The only articles of female apparel made by them are drawers (*pâéjâma*), which are either of the ordinary tight pattern (*chûridâr*), or wide with gussets (*kalidâr*), such as are worn by dancing women and servants. Some are master-tailors, and these, according to Mr. Hoey, make as much profit by each workman as his daily wages, one and-a-half annas to three annas *per diem*. Their women are said to be constantly divorced, and there are few women who have not changed, husbands more than once.

5. The occupation is an ancient one. In the vocabulary of Amara Sinha there are two words for workers with a needle—*tunnavâya*, "or those who darn" (the modern Rafugar), and the other the *sauchika* (represented by the modern Sûji), a general tailor. The profession of the latter was of sufficient importance to necessitate the establishment of a special tribe and a mixed class. The lawful issue of Vaisyas by a Sûdra woman were, according to the ancient law book of Usanas, destined to live by it and were called Sauchi or "needle-men."[2]. The occupation is a poor one and held rather in contempt. The village proverb runs,— *Darji ka pût jab tak jûta tab tak sûta*— "the tailor's brat will do nothing but sew all his life long." Another is,—*Darzi ki sûi khabhi tâsh men, kabhi tât men*—"the tailor's needle now in embroidery, now in canvass."

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[1] *Monograph on Trade and Manufactures*, 100.

[2] Rajendra Lala Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, 1, 184.

Distribution of Darzis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Chhîpi.	Kaithiya.	Mathuriya.	Nâmdeobansi.	Râthaur.	Saksena.	Sribâstab.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	123	...	...	...	...	8	...	89	27	247
Sahâranpur	789	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,079	1,170	3,038
Muzaffarnagar	1,032	...	...	...	...	...	...	727	2,487	4,246
Meerut	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	364	9,385	9,749
Bulandshahr	...	35	10	...	33	...	...	2,265	2,267	4,610
Aligarh	...	...	...	...	238	...	...	4,811	132	5,181
Mathura	1	...	70	...	16	...	...	3,220	125	3,432
Agra	254	12	66	258	842	...	...	2,940	80	4,452
Farrukhâbâd	...	889	88	...	...	563	69	48	2,666	4,323
Mainpuri	17	464	674	...	230	127	154	1,625	49	3,340
Etâwah	...	927	602	44	12	135	550	606	98	2,974
Etah	...	476	454	...	735	243	2	1,170	515	3,595
Bareilly	...	1,723	...	...	...	29	214	1,603	3,896	7,465

Bijnor	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	123	5,877	6,002
Morâdâbâd	...	247	19	4	...	571	16	687	3,456	5,000
Budâun	...	622	835	...	60	760	86	657	1,465	4,485
Shâhjahânpur	...	919	361	...	9	850	225	324	3,450	6,138
Pilibhît	...	710	20	...	...	1,408	8	113	1,383	3,642
Cawnpur	12	1,126	17	...	...	44	2,651	747	1,706	6,303
Fatehpur	...	...	...	9	...	107	2,799	746	443	4,104
Bânda	...	...	...	106	...	898	2,225	1,249	15	4,493
Hamîrpur	4	26	...	15	...	337	107	1,646	4	2,139
Allahâbâd	...	...	...	149	...	...	2,868	1,457	3,928	8,402
Jhânsi	...	...	13	147	5	...	27	2,168	7	2,367
Jâlaun	...	350	...	299	...	7	542	866	...	2,064
Lalitpur	...	...	...	137	...	...	...	1,417	...	1,554
Benares	...	8	...	...	...	...	344	236	1,942	2,530
Mirzapur	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	421	2,642	3,183
Jaunpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	246	102	4,506	4,854
Ghâzipur	...	...	...	...	...	16	102	10	2,619	2,747

Distribution of Darzis according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Chhîpi.	Kaithiya.	Mathuriya.	Nâmdeobansi.	Râthaur.	Saksena.	Sribâstab.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Ballia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,503	2,503
Gorakhpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	173	120	8,273	8,566
Basti	...	...	...	...	...	34	338	3	8,765	9,140
Azamgarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,416	5,416
Tarâi	...	162	...	...	...	...	...	194	810	1,166
Lucknow	...	...	...	13	...	...	580	201	3,362	4,156
Unâo	...	30	...	...	...	1	2,359	373	1,799	4,562
Râê Bareli	...	17	...	6	...	...	1,625	577	3,417	5,642
Sîtapur	...	93	...	...	...	132	412	64	6,884	7,585
Hardoi	...	132	...	...	...	...	16	157	5,579	5,884
Kheri	...	157	...	...	...	6	212	204	6,625	7,204
Faizâbâd	...	...	...	...	...	...	111	47	4,938	5,096
Gonda	...	...	...	...	...	...	824	...	8,640	9,464

Bahrâich	...	...	...	...	...	...	33	28	7,698	7,759
Sultânpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	303	229	5,425	5,957
Partâbgarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,181	304	2,660	4,145
Bârabanki	...	...	...	...	...	...	376	...	6,569	6,945
TOTAL .	2,232	9,127	3,229	1,187	2,180	6,276	21,898	36,017	1,45,703	2,27,849

Dasnâmi.—An order of the Gusâîns. The word means "the ten names," and is derived from their practice of affixing a special name to define the endogamous sections. The term Sannyâsi properly means a person who is undergoing the stage (*asrama*) of meditation and abandonment of the world prescribed by the early law-givers. But it more specially means a follower of the reformer Sankara Achârya. He is said to have had four pupils, from whom ten orders were derived. Padaman Achârya founded the Tîratha and Asrama classes; Sarûpa Achârya the Vana and Aranya; Tarnaka or Tank Achârya the Giri, Sâgara and Parvata; Prithodar or Prithivi Achârya the Puri, Bhârati and Saraswati. The lists, however, disagree in the enumeration of the ten classes. In these Provinces they are usually given as Tîratha; Asrama; Vana; Aranya; Sarasvati; Puri; Bhârati; Giri; Parvata, and Sâgara. Mr. Maclagan, writing of the Panjâb, says:—"According to some the order is divided into four divisions (called *math*, "the hut of an ascetic"), the Joshi Math, containing the Giri, Puri, and Bhârati; the Sangri Math, containing the Vana, Aranya, and Tîratha; the Narâgani Math, containing the Parvata and Asrama; the Brahmachâri Math, containing the Saraswati and Dandi. The fact that there are ten groups of Sannyâsis is well known, but different versions are given of the names. Of eight lists which I have before me from different parts of the Province, the Giri, Puri, Aranya, and Bhârati appear in all; but one or other of the following names, Astâwar; Jati; Bodla; Dandi; Datta; Achârya; Kar; Nirambh, or Pari, is often substituted for one or other of the remaining class names. According to some accounts only eight of the classes are really Sannyâsis, the Bhârati being Jogis and the Dandis Vaishnavas. Three classes only, the Nirambh, Asrama, and Saraswati, are allowed to wear or use arms. Five of the sub-divisions are said to be recruited from Brâhmans alone, *viz.*, the Saraswati, Achârya, Aranya, Vana, and Anandi, the others being open to the public. A man of any caste may become a Sannyâsi, but in practice the order is made up of Brâhmans and Khatris mainly, and according to some the true Sannyâsi will partake of food only in the house of a Brâhman or a Khatri."[1]

[1] *Panjâb Census Report*, 112.

Distribution of Dasnâmi Gusâins according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	158	Lalitpur . . .	25
Sahâranpur . . .	5	Benares . . .	1,899
Muzaffarnagar . .	1,119	Mirzapur . . .	4,258
Meerut	5,083	Jaunpur . . .	3,638
Bulandshahr . . .	2,271	Ghâzipur . . .	2,891
Aligarh	996	Ballia	3,804
Agra	1,124	Gorakhpur . . .	7,010
Furrukhâbâd . .	399	Basti	2,693
Mainpuri . . .	1,159	Kumaun . . .	2,944
Etâwah . . .	277	Tarâi	724
Etah	1,315	Lucknow . . .	738
Bareilly . . .	4,023	Unâo	2,289
Bijnor	667	Râê Bareli . . .	2,521
Budâun . . .	2,755	Sîtapur . . .	4,414
Morâdâbâd . . .	2,018	Hardoi . . .	1,128
Shâhjahânpur . .	1,483	Kheri	3,631
Pilibhît . . .	1,522	Faizâbâd . . .	5,371
Cawnpur . . .	1,335	Gonda	11,478
Fatehpur . . .	709	Bahrâich . . .	3,634
Bânda	296	Sîtapur . . .	2,048
Hamîrpur . . .	438	Partâbgarh . . .	1,307
Allahâbâd . . .	1,061	Bârabanki . . .	4,006
Jhânsi	279	Total .	103,320
Jâlaun	377	Males . . .	55,347
		Females . .	47,973

Dhâkara ; Dhâkra.—A sept of Râjputs who have been identified with the Takoraioi of Ptolemy.[1] To the west of the Province

[1] J. W. McCrindle, *Indian Antiquary*, XIII, 378.

they claim Sûrajbansi origin; but this is not generally admitted. Some are said to be emigrants from the banks of the Narbada; but the main body of the sept in these Provinces say that they came from Ajmer in the beginning of the sixteenth century and occupied the country now traversed by the East Indian Railway from Etâwah to Barhan. In Hardoi[1] some say that they came from Dharwâr; others from Mainpuri, of which place their ancestor was Râja, and expelled the Thatheras. They were notorious in the eighteenth century for their lawlessness, and we learn from the letters of Ezâd Bakhsh[2] that in the neighbourhood of Agra they gave the Imperial officers much trouble and rendered the communications between that city and Etâwah insecure. "Their chief stronghold was then Balampur, in the Chandwâr pargana, whence they issued in bands and harassed the country far and wide up to the very walls of Agra. Their lawless conduct brought about its own punishment, for before the close of the century we find that they had greatly diminished in numbers, and that their possessions had dwindled down to a few scattered villages." They seem to have gained their power by a close alliance with the Bhadauriyas. In the Mutiny they broke out again and endeavoured to seize their old fort at Barhan from the Râja of Awa; but they were defeated by a combined force of Jâdons and Mewâtis. Since then they have sunk into insignificance; but they are a turbulent, ill-conducted sept, always ready for petty acts of violence and cattle-stealing.

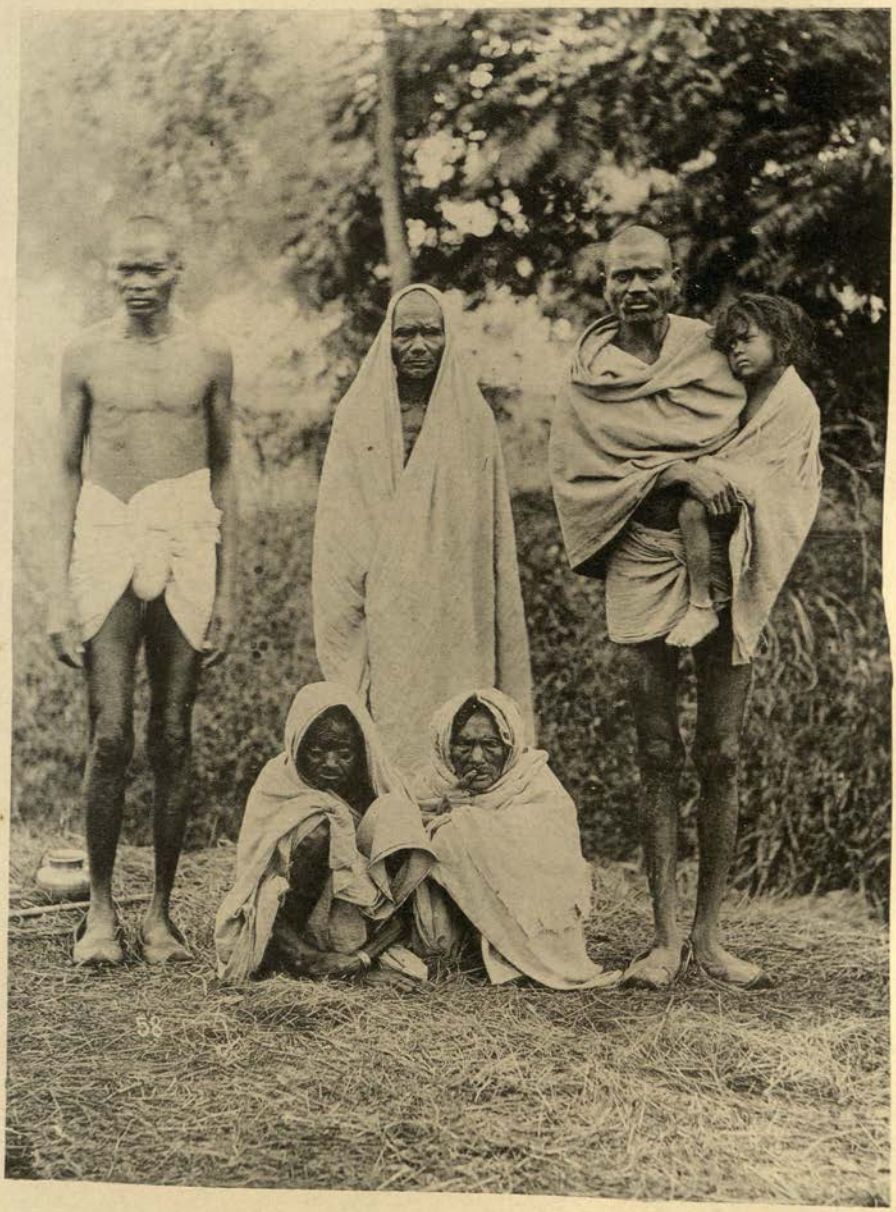
2. In Unâo the Dhâkara give girls to the Gaur, Panwâr, Chandel, Gaharwâr, Bâchhal, Janwâr, Nikumbh, Ahban, and Kachhwâha: they take girls of the Gaur, Chandel, Ahban, Janwâr, Chauhân and Bais, and claim to belong to the Bhâradvâja *gotra*. In Aligarh they receive brides from the Gahlot, Pundîr, Chauhân and Bargûjar septs; and give girls to the Chauhân, Gahlot, Sakarwâr, Panwâr, and Râthaur.

Distribution of the Dhâkara Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Meerut . . .	3	Aligarh . . .	251
Bulandshahr . . .	256	Mathura . . .	233

[1] *Settlement Report*, 89.

[2] Elliot, *Supplementary Glossary*, s. v.



DHÂNGAR.

Distribution of the Dhâkara Râjputs according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Agra	6,178	Pilibhît	2
Farrukhâbâd	170	Cawnpur	25
Mainpuri	1,432	Allahâbâd	3
Etâwah	957	Jâlaun	150
Etah	494	Lalitpur	2
Bareilly	3	Basti	11
Budâun	289	Sîtapur	29
Morâdâbâd	37	Hardoi	1,101
Shâhjahânpur	22	Kheri	47
		Total	11,695

Dhâlgar—(Sans: *dhâlakâra*).—A small occupational caste who make leather shields, a profession now almost extinct. They are allied to the Dabgar (*q. v*). The Census Returns show their sections as Bankar, Benbansi, Daras, Dhaba, Koliwâla, Sribâstav, and Phâdu.

Distribution of the Dhâlgars according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.
Faizâbâd	40
Gonda	5
Total	45

Dhângar.—A Dravidian tribe found in some of the eastern districts of the Province.[1] They are only shown in Gorakhpur, but there are certainly a few in the south of Mirzapur, who are, however, possibly not regular residents. According to Colonel Dalton

[1] In Central India a common name for them is Hatkar. The tale runs that a Dhângar of the Mughal Viceroy's body-guard used to salute his master every day, but never to wait after he made his bow. In spite of remonstrances he continued the practice, and as a punishment the Viceroy ordered the door through which the Dhângar came to be closed with swords. The Dhângar regardles of wounds passed on and made his bow. The Viceroy was so pleased that he called him Hatkar or "stubborn."—*Berâr Gazetteer*, 200: *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVI, 56.

"the Khurnkh or Orâons of Chutia Nâgpur are the people best known in many parts of India as Dhângar, a word that from its apparent derivation (*dâng* or *dhâng*, "a hill") may mean any hill-man, but amongst several tribes of the southern tributary Mahâls the terms Dhângar and Dhângarin mean the youth of the two sexes both in highland and lowland villages, and it cannot be considered the national designation of any peculiar tribe."[1] According to Mr. Risley, Mr. Oldham says in a note on some historical and ethnical aspects of the Bardwân district that the Mâlê Pahariyas call their men of fighting age Dhângar or Dhângariya. The Mâlê are cognates of the Orâons, the typical Dhângar labourers of Chota Nâgpur, so that on this showing the word may well be nothing more than the Orâon for an adult. According to another interpretation the name has reference to the fact that persons working as Dhângars receive the bulk of their wages in unhusked rice (*dhân*).[2] In Bilâspur, in the Central Provinces, they are regarded as a sub-division of the Kanwar, who are the largest sections of the aboriginal population next to the Gonds, and have there taken to wearing the Brâhmanical thread.[3] In Sambalpur they are said to be emigrants from Chota Nâgpur,[4] and in Sâranggarh they act as weavers and village watchmen.[5] M. St. Martin very doubtfully connects them with the Tânk Râjputs, the Tangana of the Mahâbhârata, and the Tanganoi or Ganganoi of Ptolemy.[6] The people known as Dhângar, in the Dakkhin,[7] whose name is derived by Dr. J. Wilson from the Sanskrit *dhenukâra*, "dealer in cows," are described as a quiet and innocent race of people who wander about with their flocks and herds. Their religion, manners, and language are to a great extent like those of the Kunbi, but the temples at which they worship are mere piles of large unhewn stones. The founder of the Holkar family of Mâlwa sprang from this race.[8]

Tribal organisation.

2. The Mirzapur Dhângars say that the Munda Kols, the Khariyas[9] of Chota Nâgpur, the Guriyas, Dhângars and Urâin or Orâon are all

[1] *Descriptive Ethnology*, 245.
[2] *Tribes and Castes*, I, 219.
[3] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 106.
[4] *Ibid*, 458.
[5] *Ibid*, 463.
[6] J. W. McCrindle, *Indian Antiquary*, XIII, 376.
[7] There is an account of these Bombay Dhângars in the *Gazetteer*, XIV, 259, *sq.*
[8] *Ibid*, I, 222 : III, 225.
[9] For these people, see Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I, 466.

endogamous divisions of the same race. They name eight exogamous septs, most or all of which are certainly of totemistic origin. Thus Ilha is said to mean a kind of fish which this sept does not eat: Kajur is the name of a jungle herb which members of this sub-division do not use: Tirik, which is possibly the same as the Tirki or bull sept of the Orâons. In Chota Nâgpur members of this sept cannot touch any cattle after their eyes open.[1] On the other hand, Colonel Dalton describes the Tirki sub-division as prohibited from eating young mice (*tirki*).[2]

The Lakara sub-division, which is apparently identical with that called Lakrar among the Orâons, who must not eat tiger's flesh,[3] derive their name in Mirzapur from the hyæna (*lakar bagha*), which they will not hunt or kill. The Bara sept, who are evidently the same as the Barar of the Orâons, who will not eat from the leaves of the Bar tree (*Ficus Indica*), in Mirzapur will not cut this tree. The Ekka sept in Mirzapur say that the name means "leopard," which they will not kill. In Chota Nâgpur the same word is said to mean "tortoise," and to be a totemistic sept of Orâons. This is the Ekhar sept in Colonel Dalton's list.[4] The Tiga sept, in Mirzapur, say they take their name from a jungle root of that name which they will not eat: but the Orâon Dhângars of Bhâgalpur have a Tig sept which they say means "monkey."[5] The last of the Mirzapur septs is Khâha, which they say means "crow," a bird which they respect and will not injure. This is evidently the same as the Khakhar sept of Orâons, who will not eat the crow.[6] From all this the identity of the Mirzapur Dhângars with the Bengal Orâons is conclusively established. At the same time the diverging significance of these totemistic titles within a limited area is interesting. The Census lists supply a much more Hinduised set of sections including the Beldâr, Belwâr, Benbansi, Janwâr, Jhuar, Panwâr, and Sribâstam.

Appearance.

3. Colonel Dalton's description of the Orâons applies very closely to their cognates the Mirzapur Dhângars. "Although the Orâons when young are pleasant to look upon from their good humoured and guileless expression,

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1 Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II, 227.
2 *Descriptive Ethnology*, 254.
3 *Ibid*, 254.
4 Risley, *loc. cit.*, I, 261. *Descriptive Ethnology*, 254.
5 Risley, *loc. cit.*, II, 322.
6 Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 254.

they are on the whole to be regarded as a dark complexioned and by no means well-favoured race. When we see numbers of them massed together in a market, the features we find to predominate are excess of jaws and mouth, thick lips pushed out by the projection of the jaws, a defect which age increases, the teeth becoming more and more porrect till they appear to radiate outwards from the upper jaw. The forehead is low and narrow, but not as a rule receding; and the eyes have nothing very peculiar about them, often bright and full, with long lashes and straight set, sometimes small and dim, but not oblique. These upper features give them a human and intelligent expression notwithstanding the Simian characteristic of the lower. There is the indentation usual in the Turanian races between the frontal and nasal bones, but the latter are more pronounced than we find them in the Lohitic tribes. The colour of the majority is darkest brown approaching to black.[1]" Mr. Risley adds that no signs of Mongolian affinities can be detected in the relative positions of the nasal and malar bones; the average naso-malar index for a hundred Orâons, measured on the system recommended by Mr. Oldfield Thomas, comes to 113·6.[2]

Traditions.

4. The Mirzapur Dhângars say they emigrated from a place named Barwai somewhere to the south about nine or ten generations ago. They say that they occupied a narrow valley called Sathorwa, where they used to beset and rob travellers. At last a General of the Emperor made terms with their leaders, Jura Mahto and Buddhu Bhagat, and on promise of giving them a rent-free estate (*jâgîr*) induced the tribe to lay down their arms, and then ordered a general massacre. The few survivors escaped to Mirzapur. These two leaders, Jura and Buddhu, are the deified heroes of the tribe. It is said that their heads spoke seven days after they were decapitated, and advised them to emigrate.

Tribal council.

5. They have a tribal council (*panchâyat*) presided over by a hereditary president, the Chaudhari, which meets for caste business on occasions of marriages and deaths. For caste offences the punishment is usually the providing of a feast including rice, one or two goats and ten

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[1] Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 250.

[2] *Tribes and Castes*, II, 139.

The Orâons of Bengal are found to be extraordinarily fertile. They have 7,704 children in every 20,000 persons of both sexes—*Census Report*, 175.

bottles of liquor. If a girl intrigues with a clansman, her father has to provide two dinners to the clansmen, and she is then restored to caste. Her lover has to provide the same feast if he seduces an unmarried girl in the tribe. The pair are then married. If a girl is detected in an intrigue with an outsider she is permanently expelled, and so with a man who intrigues with a strange woman.

Marriage rules.

6. The totemistic septs are exogamous, and in addition the children of the mother's brother, the sister and father's sister are barred. Polygamy is permitted only when the first wife is barren, and then the consent of the Chaudhari and clansmen is required. The marriage age is ten or twelve for boys and girls. The bride-price is two rupees, and is invariably fixed by caste custom. No physical defect subsequently ascertained can annul a marriage; but both parties are carefully examined by the relatives before the engagement is made. A man may divorce his wife if he discovers that she is a witch; and habitual adultery on the part of husband and wife justifies divorce with the leave of the council. Women who have been divorced can marry again, but the general feeling is against the practice, and it is not allowed in respectable families. The institution of the Bachelor Hall, described by Colonel Dalton among the Orâons,[1] does not prevail among the Mirzapur Dhângars.

Widow-marriage and the levirate.

7. The levirate prevails, and a widow can marry an outsider by *sagâi* only when her younger brother-in-law gives up his claim to her. The only ceremony is that the lover comes with a yellow sheet to the widow's house. She puts it on and comes home with him, when he gives a feast to his clansmen, and it is essential that the cooking should be done by the new-made wife. By remarriage a widow loses all right to the property of her first husband.

In the case of the levirate the property of the first husband passes to the levir, and when they grow up, the sons by the first marriage are entitled to a share in all the property of their stepfather on the same scale as his sons. There is no fiction of attributing the sons of the levir to his deceased elder brother.

Succession.

8. Adoption is unknown. The heirs of a man are his sons: but the eldest son gets something more than the others. When the father and sons live joint-

[1] *Descriptive Ethnology*, 247.

ly and distribution takes place after the father's death, all the sons share equally, no matter whether any part of the property may have been acquired by any particular son.

Grandsons get their proportion of the share that would have fallen to their fathers. The widow has a sort of life interest in her husband's estate, but is liable to expulsion for unchastity. Daughters have no right of succession. But a girl who is ill-treated by her husband is entitled to return to her own home and be maintained by her brothers.

9. The birth ceremonies resemble those among Bhuiyârs (*q. v.*).

Domestic ceremonies. Birth.

On the sixth day the *chhathi* ceremony is performed, and after this the mother is pure. The husband does not cohabit with his wife for two months after her confinement.

10. The betrothal is solemnized as among the Bhuiyas by the exchange of platters of liquor between the parents of the parties. After this both salute in the form known as Râmrahâi.[1] Notice is given of the day of the ceremony. This is called *din dharna*. The pair revolve round a branch of the *siddh* tree (*Hardwickia binata*), and a water jar (*kalsa*) fixed in the marriage shed (*mânro*). Before the procession starts, the bridegroom's mother sprinkles some water over him with a branch of rice stalks, and waves the water jar over his head to keep off evil spirits. The binding part of the ceremony is the rubbing of red lead by the bridegroom on the head of the bride. After marriage the bridegroom has to eat rice and pulse (*khichari*) with the bride, and refuses to do so until he gets a calf or eight annas from his father-in-law. The bride walks behind the bridegroom on her way to his house, and is supposed to weep bitterly all the time. When she and her husband reach the door, they have to walk in over a series of baskets arranged in a double line, while the women sing the song of rejoicing (*sohar*). Then the bridegroom salutes his male relations outside the house. Inside, the bride, shading her breast with the corner of her sheet, touches the feet of the senior women, and they reply with the blessing *tuhâr ahibât barhê*—"May your husband live long."

Marriage.

[1] According to the Bengal Returns the Orâon man marries earlier than any of the other Dravidians, nearly five years earlier than the Munda Kol. Thirteen and-a-half is the general marriage age for girls of the aboriginal tribes, but the Bhuiya, Orâon, Agariya, and Kurmi give their daughters in marriage a little under thirteen years.—*Census Report*, 200.

Death ceremonies.

11. The dead are cremated exactly as is done by the Bhuiyas; after the mourners return from the cremation they come to the house of the deceased and there some butter is thrown on a fire lighted in the courtyard, and the mourners pass their hands through the smoke and rub their bodies. The ashes of the dead are thrown into a neighbouring stream. They have no idea of the careful preservation of the bones as described by Colonel Dalton among the Orâons.[1] On the day of the cremation all the women walk in a line to the river or tank close by. They are very careful not to touch each other with their toes, as they walk one after the other. The woman thus struck is believed to lose her son or husband during the year. When they arrive at the water the red powder is washed off the parting of the widow's hair. The chief mourner is impure for ten days, during which he places a leaf platter (*dauna*) full of food daily on the road by which the deceased was removed for cremation. On the tenth day the male relatives shave and return to the house of the deceased, where the chief mourner sacrifices a pig in the name of the deceased, and cutting off its feet and snout buries them in the courtyard and covers them with a stone. Then striking this stone with another stone he says,—"I have buried you here, never to come out; you are to rest here no matter how hard an exorciser (*Ojha*) or anyone else tries to wake you." Then he pours some liquor over the stone. There is no priest employed in the funeral ceremony, and no formulæ of any kind are recited.

Religion.

12. The Dhângars in Mirzapur are nominally Hindus, but worship none of the regular Hindu deities. Their deities are Barna Bhawâni, a female, who may be the same as Barhona, a deity of the Kurs, identified with Varuna, the spirit of the waters,[2] and Goraiya Deva. Barna Bhawâni is worshipped by some once a year, by others four times a year with the sacrifice of a he-goat, a she-goat, and a pig. Goraiya is the god of cattle, and is worshipped every year on 15th Kârttik. A pig and a white and black cock are sacrificed to him in the cattle pen, and some liquor is poured on the ground. They carry on the usual worship of the village gods (*dih*) through the Baiga. When

[1] *Descriptive Ethnology*, 262.
[2] Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 231.

small-pox prevails the women worship Sîtala Bhawâni. Her offering, which is conditional on the recovery of the child from the disease, consists of bread and a sort of sweetmeat (*halwa*). If the child recovers he wears all his life a silver image (*sirjana*) of the goddess, with her figure gilt, round his neck. All the worship, except that of the village gods, is done by the head of the household, and the worshippers consume the flesh of the victim.

Festivals.

13. In Bhâdon they observe the Nâgpanchami by eating better food than usual, but they do not make any special worship of the snake as Hindus do. In Mâgh they have the Khichari, when they eat pulse, parched grain, and sesamum. They do not light the Holi fire, but they celebrate the Phagua by drunken revelry and foul abuse of women, particularly of the brother's wife (*bhaujâi*).

Demonology and ancestor worship.

14. Old wells and tanks are the special abode of malevolent ghosts. These are propitiated through the Ojha, who is believed to have special control over them. They have no special ancestor worship, because they consider the spirits finally disposed of by the pig-sacrifice already described.

Social customs.

15. The women tattoo themselves only on the arms. In this they differ from the Orâons, who are tattooed in childhood with the three marks on the brow and two on each temple that distinguish the majority of the Munda women.[1] There is no special pattern and nothing resembling a tribal tattoo. The women wear bracelets (*mathiya*), pewter anklets (*pairi*), necklets (*hansli*), ear ornaments (*utarna*), bead necklaces (*guriya*). They eat beef and pork, and almost any meat except that of the lizard, jackal, alligator, and monkey. They use liquor and smoking and chewing tobacco. The use of liquor they believe keeps off malaria. They will not touch or name the wife of the elder brother. They treat their women fairly well, consult them in family affairs, and follow their advice. Their business is generally to work as ploughmen. Their wages are four *sers* of grain for each working day, a rupee and-a-half at the end of the agricultural year, one blanket and half a *bîgha* of rent-free land. They also get food on the Panchaiyân, Khichari, and Phagua festivals. They have no regular communal organization, but they are

[1] Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 251.

very clannish and afraid of strangers. In Mirzapur they are little better than a miserable, depressed tribe of field serfs.

Distribution of the Dhângars according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Benbansi.	Janwâr.	Panwâr.	Others.	Total.
Gorakhpur . . .	218	292	200	73	783

Dhânuk[1] (Sans. *dhanuska*, "an archer"), a low tribe who work as watchmen, musicians at weddings, and their women as midwives. They are most numerous in the Agra division, but are found all over the Province except in the Benares, Gorakhpur, and Faizâbâd divisions, and in the hills. Their origin is very uncertain. According to Dr. Buchanan[2] they are a "pure agricultural tribe, who from their name, implying archers, were probably in former times the militia of the country, and are perhaps not essentially different from the Kurmis; for any Jaiswâr Kurmi, who from poverty sells himself or his children is admitted among the Dhânuks. All the Dhânuks were at one time probably slaves, and many have been recruited to fill up the military ranks—a method of recruiting that has been long prevalent in Asia, the armies of Parthians having been composed almost entirely of slaves, and the custom is, I believe, still pretty general among the Turks. A great many of the Dhânuks are still slaves; but some annually procure their liberty by the inability of their masters to maintain them, and by their unwillingness to sell their fellow-creatures. I have already mentioned that the Dhanushkas or Dhamin Brâhmans are probably the original priests of the tribe." Mr. Risley[3] admits that the only evidence from Bihâr in support of Dr. Buchanan's theory of the connection between the Dhânuks and the Kurmis is that, according to some authorities, the Chhilatiya sub-caste is also known by the name of Jaiswâr. Considering, however, how widespread the term Jaiswâr is for the sub-castes and sections of the minor castes, this piece of evidence is of little value.

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[1] Almost entirely based on notes by Bâbu Gopâl Prasâd, Naib Tahsîldâr of Phaphûnd; and Chaudhari Darshan Singh, of Auraiya, Etâwah district.

[2] *Eastern India*, I, 166.

[3] *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, I, 220, *sqq.*

Internal structure.

2. At the last Census the Dhânuks were recorded in the following important sub-castes:—Dhâkara, Dusâdh, Kaithiya, Kathariya, Kori, and Râwat. The complete lists show three hundred and twenty sections of the usual, mixed type, some the names of well known tribes, others of local derivation. A full list received from Etâwah names twenty sub-divisions—Laungbarsa (the name means "raining cloves," and is said to arise from the custom prevailing in this sub-division of tying a string of cloves round the necks of the bride and bridgroom during marriage. They do not, however, appear to treat the clove otherwise, with any particular respect, and do not forbear from naming, eating, burning, or otherwise destroying it), Hazâri, Kathariha, Lakariha, Bhuseli, Garuhaiya, Hâthichighar, Garpetha, Atariha, Pichhauriha, Jashar, Jalâliya, Kachhwâha, Jugeli, Ruriha, Kharaiha, Tahelê, Dunhân, Bagheli. Sir H. M. Elliot gives the seven sub-divisions as follows :— Laungbasta (probably the same as the Laungbarsa of the Etâwah list), Mathuriya, Kathariya, Jaiswâr, Magahi, Dojwâr Chhilatiya. In the east of the Province another list[1] gives Jaiswâr, Dhânuk, Magahi, Dojwâr and Chhilatiya. The Dhânuks have no tradition of the origin of these names, and it is dangerous to speculate on such a subject. But there seems no doubt that the Kathariya or Kathariha are so-called because they make a sort of mat called *kathri*, which is one of the special handicrafts of this sub-division to the present day. The Lakariha and Bhuseli have obviously somothing to do with wood and chaff. The Hathichighar are elephant keepers; the Kachhwâha and Baghelê must have taken their names from the similar Râjput tribes; while the Jaiswâr and Magahi are clearly local names derived from the town of Jais and the country of Magadha, respectively. There is little or no resemblance between these lists and the Bihâr list given by Mr. Risley, a sufficient proof, if proof were needed, of the astonishing facility by which tribes of this social status modify their internal structure.

Marriage rules.

3. The rule of exogamy as stated by the Dhânuks of Etâwah is that (*a*) no man or woman can marry in their own sub-division; (*b*) no child can be married in a family in which the father or mother have been married. The age of marriage is usually between seven and eleven. No one can have more than two wives at the same time. Unchastity on the part of an unmarried girl is punished by a fine imposed on the

[1] Buchanan, *loc. cit.*

parents by the tribal council. A man can get rid of his wife for adultery, but a wife cannot abandon her husband for this cause. Divorced women and widows can be remarried by the form known as *dharauna* or *dharukh*. The levirate under the usual restrictions is permitted. If a widow marry an outsider she loses all right to the goods of her first husband. If he leave children they are his heirs; if he dies childless his elder brother, or if he himself be the eldest, then the brother next to him in age succeeds. If she marry the levir he takes the goods of his deceased elder brother unless he has left children. There is no fiction that children by the levir are attributed to his late brother.

Birth.

4. There are no ceremonies during pregnancy. The mother is attended by some old woman of the tribe. The only purificatory ceremony is the *chhathi* on the sixth day after delivery. There is no trace of the couvade. The only observance at adoption is the feeding of the clansmen.

Marriage.

5. The marriage ceremonies are of the common low caste type. In the respectable form (*shâdi, biwâh*) the ceremony, the binding part of which is the revolutions (*bhanwar*), is done at the house of the bride; in *dola* it is done at that of the bridegroom.

Death.

6. They burn their adult and bury the unmarried dead. The ashes are thrown into any river or stream. They perform *srâddha* for the repose of the souls of the dead. The malevolent dead are propitiated in the months of Mâgh and Bhâdon. The service is done in the daytime but secretly with all the doors closed. A fire is lighted and to it cakes (*pûri*) are offered, and then eaten by the worshippers. On this occasion if the house-holder be a rich man, he entertains the brotherhood; if he is poor, he feeds only his sister's or daughter's husband—a custom which may be a survival of descent in the female line. The ashes of the fire made on this occasion are carefully preserved, and if any sickness come upon the household during the year, they are rubbed on the part affected, and a vow is made to repeat the service when the next anniversary comes round. During the first fifteen days of the month of Kuâr water is thrown daily on the ground, in honour of the dead, and flour, butter, etc., are given to Brâhmans that they by consuming them may convey them to the hungry dead in the other world. A fire is lighted and cakes offer-

ed to it, and a piece of a cake is attached to the wall in the place where marks have been made representing the deceased ancestors of the family.

Religion.

7. The Dhânuks are Hindu by religion and are classed as Sâktas because they are worshippers of Devi. But none of them are ever regularly initiated. They make pilgrimages to the tomb of Madâr Sâhib at Makhanpur, in the Cawnpur District, and in the month of Mâgh offer a sort of pudding (*malîda*) and money which are taken by the Khâdims in charge of the shrine. They also worship the two Miyâns: the great or Bara Miyân has his tomb at Jalesar, in the Etah District, and the little or Chhota at Amroha, in Morâdâbâd. These saints are worshipped after child-birth; if the child happened to be a son they offer a he-goat; for a daughter the offering is a kind of cake (*gulgula*). These are consumed by the worshippers, and so is the goat, which is the right of Devi. They are firm believers in the demoniacal theory of disease. In such cases a sorcerer is sent for; he sits down with a broom in his hand, which he waves while he smokes a *huqqa*, and thus drives off the evil spirit which is the cause of the mischief. In cases of disease caused by the Evil Eye the procedure is similar with this addition that some chillies are waved seven times round the head of the patient and then thrown on the fire, when the evil influence incontinently disappears in the stench. Another plan is for the magician to summon one of his domesticated spirits, which puts him under its influence, and he is then able to announce with certainty the evil spirit which has affected the patient. Another approved plan is to burn a hair from the patient's head, and this invariably gives relief.

Agricultural customs.

8. When they sink a well they erect an image of Hanumân near the spot, and on the completion of the work feed Brâhmans and distribute charity. Before sowing a little grain is sifted through a sieve, and when the work is done the oxen are washed and the plough worshipped. Before the grain is garnered a little is given to the poor and to Brâhmans.

Social rules.

9. Dhânuks will eat mutton, pork, the flesh of the cloven-footed animals, and fish. They drink freely. They will not eat the flesh of monkeys, beef, flesh of uncloven-footed animals, fowls, crocodiles, snakes, lizards, jackals, rats, vermin, or the leavings of other people. Their salutation is

Râm ! Râm ! They have the usual ceremonial taboos. Elder relatives are addressed not by their names but by their title of relationship. Younger persons and all male strangers are addressed by name. All female strangers are addressed by name when spoken to by women; but when men address them they call them "so-and-so's wife" or "so and-so's mother." If they are unmarried they are addressed by name. So a husband calls his wife "so-and-so's mother."

Occupation.

10. Their occupation is playing on trumpets at weddings and other occasions of festivity. They act as servants, day-labourers, village watchmen, and their women do midwifery. Some hold land as tenants and work as field labourers. Many receive a patch of land rent-free in lieu of wages.

Distribution of Dhânuks and their sub-castes by the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Dhâkrê.	Dusâdh.	Kaithiya.	Kathariya.	Kori.	Râwat.	Others.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûn . .	...	...	...	169	...	...	45	214
Sahâranpur . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	50
Muzaffarnagar .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Meerut . . .	...	...	...	...	13,758	...	11,263	25,021
Bulandshahr . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Aligarh . . .	...	...	...	...	...	286	354	640
Mathura . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	20
Agra . . .	216	...	...	222	...	156	1,150	1,744
Farrukhâbâd . .	...	...	...	3,094	...	227	12,524	15,845
Mainpuri . . .	273	...	28	13,946	...	...	1,293	15,540
Etâwah . . .	554	...	...	8,829	...	423	6,897	16,703
Etah . . .	99	86	1,070	965	113	506	973	3,812
Bareilly . . .	...	1,832	...	...	...	372	399	2,603
Bijnor . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5
Shâhjahânpur . .	...	379	...	8,925	...	2,503	1,140	12,947
Pilibhît . . .	...	180	5	2,133	...	1,929	327	4,574
Cawnpur . . .	...	...	...	439	3	...	19,452	19,894
Hamîrpur . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1

Distribution of Dhânuks and their sub-castes by the Census of 1891 —concld.

Districts.	Dhâkrê.	Dusâdh.	Kaithiya.	Kathariya.	Kori.	Râwat.	Others.	Total.
Allahâbâd . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Jhânsi . . .	...	...	...	...	...	5	5	10
Jâlaun . . .	10	...	...	45	...	...	2,439	2,494
Lalitpur . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..
Benares . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5
Ghâzipur . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Ballia . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Tarâi . . .	...	...	...	2	...	92	5	99
Lucknow . .	...	1	...	...	...	...	788	789
Unâo . . .	296	...	...	...	...	...	5,213	5,509
Sîtapur . . .	...	...	..	467	...	...	2,235	2,702
Hardoi . . .	...	...	...	8,808	...	...	3,314	11,402
Kheri . . .	...	...	...	1,121	...	1,005	1,405	3,531
Faizâbâd . . .	...	...	...	1	...	...	14	15
Bahrâich . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10
Sultânpur . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3
Total .	1,448	2,478	1,103	48,446	13,874	7,504	71,336	146,189

Dhârhi (possibly from Sans. *dhrista*, "impudent"), a tribe of dancers and singers of whom there is a Hindu and a Muhammadan branch. They have been described under one of their many names, Kingariya or Kingriya, in another place. Another name for them is Pâwariya or Pâwanriya (from the foot (*pânw*) carpet (*pânwara*) they use. In the hills, though socially ranked with Doms, they do not belong to them, for they properly include only those Khasiyas who have been put out of caste for some offence or other and their offspring form a new caste with the special avocation of singing and dancing.

Internal structure.

2. The Census lists show forty sections. Many of these are local as Audhiya, Balrâmpuri, Chaurasiya, Desi, Gujarâti, Jaunpuri, Haripuriya, Kanaujiya, Madhesiya, Pachhwâhan, and Sarwariya. Others connect them with well-known castes or tribes, as Bânsphor, Boriya, Dhelphor, Dusâdh, Ghosi, Kewat.

3. The Dhârhi has two distinct functions. In the first place he is a musician and singer, and appears at houses on occasions of festivity, such as a marriage or when a woman is purified after the birth pollution and rejoins the household. He and the women who accompany him, who are usually of equivocal reputation, sing and play the double drum (*mridang*) or the guitar (*tambûra*), for which he gets presents of grain, money or clothes. Secondly, the Hindu Dhârhi keeps swine and acts in many villages as the priest of the local god (*Gânwdeota, deohâr*) cleans and plasters his platform, and takes anything in the way of an offering which is not consumed by the worshippers themselves.

Occupation.

4. The Dhârhi from his habits of begging and going about with women of bad character has rather an unsavoury reputation, and socially ranks very little above the Chamâr. They permit widow-marriage, divorce and remarriage of divorced women, but if a woman separate from her husband without cause she must repay through her second husband any charges which may have been incurred in her first marriage. Muhammadan Dhârhis have their marriages done, if they are well-off, by the Qâzi; if they are poor, by the village Dafâli.

Social rules.

The Hindu Dhârhis seldom or never employ a Brâhman except to take the auspices and fix a lucky day for the wedding. Two common proverbs show the opinion generally held of the Dhârhi—*Dena lena kâm Dom Dhârhiyon ka, muhabbat dusri chiz hai.*—"Taking presents is the way of pimps and buffoons; true love is quite a different thing. "*Randi ki kamâi, ya khâe Dhârhi, ya khâe gâri.* "The prostitute's earnings go to the pimp or cabman."

Distribution of Dhârhis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Hindus.			Muhammadans.	Total.
	Dusâdh.	Madhesya	Others.		
Bulandshahr . . .	...	...	...	3	3
Mathura	...	...	...	5	5
Agra	...	...	...	86	86
Farrukhâbad . . .	...	...	12	67	79

Distribution of Dhârhis according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Hindus.			Muhammadans.	Total.
	Dusâdh.	Madhesya	Others.		
Mainpuri	...	...	...	16	16
Etah	...	...	...	32	32
Budâon	...	...	1	...	1
Shâhjahânpur . . .	...	...	...	180	180
Cawnpur	...	...	...	38	38
Bânda . . .	...	...	...	31	31
Hamîrpur	...	...	3	3	6
Allahâbâd	...	...	1	48	49
Jhânsi	...	...	...	2	2
Jâlaun	...	...	...	4	4
Benares	...	...	8	...	8
Ghâzipur	...	...	...	34	34
Gorakhpur . . .	1,490	943	1,502	2	3,937
Basti	...	...	2,294	...	2,294
Azamgarh . . .	...	17	54	...	71
Lucknow . . .	...	...		107	107
Unâo	...	...	...	35	35
Râê Bareli	...	...	...	115	115
Sîtapur	...	...	...	80	80
Hardoi	...	...	...	91	91
Kheri	...	...	...	128	128
Faizâbâd	...	...	...	36	36
Gonda	988	4,273	1,384	93	6,738
Bahrâich	...	...	2	5	7
Sultânpur	...	...	...	74	74
Partâbgarh . . .	...	...	...	7	7
Total .	2,478	5,233	5,261	1,322	14,294

DHARKÂR.

Dharkâr[1] (Hindi *dhar*, Sanskrit *dhara*, "a rope," *kâra*, "maker") a sub-caste of the Eastern Doms. They are also known as Bentbansi, because they work in cane (*bent*), which some corrupt into Benbansi or of the race of Râja Vena. Their sections in Mirzapur are quite distinct from those recorded by Mr. Risley in Bihar.[2] South of the Son there are four sections (*kuri*) which are exogamous: Aril, which is said to be the name of a fine kind of bamboo used in making winnowing fans, baskets, sieves, etc.: Neoriya, said to be derived from *newar*, a young soft bamboo: Dauriha, said to take its name from *dauriwa*, a strong hard bamboo used for baskets (*dauri*) which is not attacked by weevils: Nagarha, from *nagar*, a very high thick bamboo. These sections intermarry on equal terms, except the Aril, which is the highest, and with it the others practise hypergamy. This rule of exogamy is reinforced by the restriction against intermarrying in the family of the maternal uncle (*mâmu*) and father's sister's husband (*phûpha*) for at least three generations. In Oudh the rule of exogamy is said to be that a man cannot marry the daughter of his sister and a son cannot be married in a family to which a bride has been given until three or four generations have passed. Two sisters cannot be married at the same time; but a man may marry the sister of his deceased wife. They also very often marry by exchanging sisters in the form known as Gurâwat, the simplest form of marriage by purchase.[3] North of the Son they name three sections which are endogamous—Benbans, Barua and Dom; but the Benbans have developed under the influence of Hinduism regular exogamous *gotras*, of which they know only two,—Bilkhariya and Matâr. To the whole tribe, as is shown more particularly in the sections south of the Son, the bamboo is a sort of totem and is treated with great respect.[4]

The Mirzapur Dharkârs say that when Parameswar created their ancestor he seated him under a bamboo and gave him the curved knife (*bânka*) with which he was to make his living by basket making, etc.

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[1] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and a note by Bâbu Sânwal Dâs, Deputy Collector, Hardoi.

[2] *Tribes and Castes*, II, App. 42.

[3] Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 390.

[4] The bamboo is worshipped by some of the Chittagong Hill Tribes, Dalton, *Ethnology*, 109; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, 290.

Tribal council.

2. The tribal council (*panchâyat*) with a permanent president (*mahto*) and an assistant (*dîwân*) is very powerful. The council hears the evidence and gives its opinion, which may or not be accepted by the Mahto, who gives the final order. The usual punishment is an order to feed the clansmen for two days on goat's flesh and rice. For a second offence excommunication for twelve years is the sentence, and during this time, unless he make humble submission and receive pardon from the council, all marriages in his family are stopped, he is not allowed to eat or smoke with his clansmen, and cannot sit on the tribal mat (*tât*) at meetings of the council. In Oudh, however, it would appear that they have no regularly constituted council. Whenever a case affecting caste discipline occurs, a meeting of the adult householders of the neighbourhood is convened: they appoint a Chairman for the meeting and decide the case. They have a sort of local organization (*eka*) for marriages, which generally take place within an assigned local area. They seldom go any considerable distance to find wives.[1]

Marriage rules.

3. A man may have as many wives as he can afford: but monogamy is the rule. In Oudh they say that no man can have more than seven wives at one time; but it is needless to say that very few Dharkârs can afford more than one. If a man marries more than one wife, the senior wife (*jethi mehrâru*) rules the household. Concubinage and polyandry are prohibited. Women have considerable freedom, and intertribal fornication is visited by a fine of a two days' feast to the clansmen. The lover has to pay the girl's father in such cases eight rupees in cash and to give her mother a cloth—an arrangement so common apparently that there is a special name for it,—*mâi kâpar*, or "the mother's cloth." He then feeds the council on goat's flesh and rice, and after this the young couple are recognized as man and wife. Dharkârs practise adult marriage, the age being seventeen or eighteen. The marriage is arranged by the father's sister's husband (*phûpha*) of the bridegroom. The bride-price paid by the boy's father is fixed—eight rupees in cash, one loin cloth (*dhoti*), and one hundred cakes (*pûri*). This is used in the marriage feast, and the cloth goes to the girl. The parties are so carefully examined before marriage that no physical defect subsequently ascertained is a bar to marriage. If the wife without reason shown to the satisfaction of the

[1] See instances of this collected by Westermarck, *loc cit*, 365, *sq*.

council refuse to live with her husband, her father has to refund the cash brideprice. If the husband refuses to keep his wife, the council will punish him and compel him to bring her home. If either husband or wife habitually commit adultery, the injured party may divorce the other, but before they can do so the case must be heard by the council and the Mahto must give his permission, which will not be granted unless the fact is proved by the evidence of eye-witnesses. If a woman is divorced, she may be remarried in the tribe by the form known as *sagâi* or *dharauna*. The children of a regular wife and a widow taken in *sagâi* rank equally as heirs. If a man keep a concubine or even eat from her hand, he is put out of caste and not restored till he gives a tribal feast. Illegitimate children follow the father; but such a child cannot eat or marry in the tribe. Only a widower can marry a woman by the *sagâi* form. He goes to the widow's house and proposes for her in a regular form—*hamâr ghar basâdé*," make my home inhabited." Her father receives the same bride-price as in a regular marriage. Her father gives a feast and assembles the council. If at this meeting any person entitled to claim the right of the levirate comes forward and says,—" Why are you giving my woman to a stranger ?" the council order her father to pay him the bride-price. Then her lover takes her home, puts red lead on her forehead and palm leaf ornaments (*tarki*) in her ears, and after feeding the clansmen on goat's flesh and rice the connection is legalised. The levirate is recognised under the usual restrictions, and there is no fiction of the affiliation of the children to the former husband. A childless man can adopt his brother's son. The sons are heirs, but the eldest son gets something in excess as determined by the council. Daughters have no rights, and after marriage even the claim to maintenance is not recognized. The mother has a life interest if there are no brothers of the deceased. The heirs of a sonless man are his associated brothers and they are supposed to give the widow something unless she is remarried, which is usually the case, unless she is disabled by age or infirmity.

Relationship.

4. The father is called *dauwa :* the grandfather *bâba :* the mother *dâi :* the grandmother *barki dâi :* the father's elder brother *bara* or *barka* ("great"). The wife is always called " the mother of so-and-so," her son. They call a daughter *bahin* or sister, which perhaps points to loose ideas of family life. The wife's father is *mahto* " leader."

Relations generally are *mit* or *yâr* ("friends"). In particular they call *mit* all persons who have the same name as themselves, and with such they are particularly friendly. People resident in the same village are *gaunwa pariwâr*.

Birth ceremonies.

5. When the birth pains begin they worship the ancestors with the sacrifice of a he-goat and a cock, and bathe the woman's hands and feet or, in bad cases, her whole body with a decoction of the bark of the Rohina or fig tree. The child is born on the ground and the cord is cut by a Chamârin midwife, who buries it in the place the child was born, placing a bit of iron and a copper pice in the earthen fire pot. On the sixth day (*chhathi*) the Chamârin retires and the mother is bathed by her husband's sister (*nanad*), who cleans the delivery-room (*saur*). The house earthen vessels are replaced, and one or two of the clansmen fed. On the twelfth day (*barahi*) the woman is again bathed and the house cleaned. On that day she cooks for the family and is pure. Her husband does not cohabit with her for six months after her confinement. They have the usual horror of touching menstrual blood or clothes defiled at child-birth. The only puberty ceremony is the ear-boring[1] (*kanchhedan*), which is done at the age of eight or ten, after which the child must conform to caste rules about food.

Marriage.

6. The betrothal is sealed by the exchange between the two fathers of platters of liquor, one containing two rupees placed there by the boy's father, which the girl's father takes. They have the usual *matmangar* ceremony.[2] The usual anointing of bride and bridegroom follows, which is begun by the fathers on each side taking up a little oil in a wisp of *dûb* grass and sprinkling it on the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be. During this time he calls out,—"If my son or daughter is happily married we will worship the ancestors (*pitra*) with a fire offering of butter and a goat or fowl." Here follows a curious emblematical ceremony. The boy's mother sits on a grain mortar (*okhari*) in the centre of the marriage shed, and her son is seated in her lap. Then the boy, his mother, and the wedding water-pot (*kalsa*) are all tied together with a string and a fire sacri-

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[1] The rural proverb runs, *E gur khâyen, kân chhedâyen*, "You must eat this sugar and have your ears bored," doing a thing *nolens volens*. Christian, *Behar Proverbs*, 68.

[2] For which see *Bhuiya*, para. 14.

fice (*hom*) is done with sugar and butter. The boy's sister holds her hand over the blaze and collects some lampblack on her fingers, which she rubs on her brother's eyes. Then the mother comes under the influence of the goddess Amina Bhawâni and begins to tremble, on which her friends throw some rice over her and take her into the house, whence she soon emerges again to do the wave ceremony (*parachhan*). She holds a vessel (*lota*) full of water, a grain pounder (*músal*), and a tray (*thâli*), on which is placed a lighted lamp. First she waves a lump of dough five times over her son's head; she does the same with the *lota*, and pours the water on the ground. Then she moves the rice-pounder five times over him, and with it touches the spot on the ground where the water was poured out. He finally salutes her with the *páélagi* form, and she says,—"Go son! Go son!" When he arrives at the bride's door her father meets him with a new basket, the emblem of his craft, in which is a new loin-cloth dyed with turmeric. This is put on the bridegroom, and the basket is handed to one of his friends. All the friends on both sides stand at the bride's door, beat drums and dance. In this dance the men fasten rattling bangles (*ghungru*) on their ankles and play on the tambourine (*dafla*), flute (*bánsuli*), and large drum (*mándar*), while they leap high in the air and shout. Then they retire to rest under a tree outside the village. One of the bride's friends then comes and washes their feet, after which the boy's father sends a loin cloth (*dhoti*) and one hundred cakes (*púri*) to the bride. These, when they arrive, are carefully counted, and twenty-five are sent back to the bridegroom, who gives a piece to each of his friends.

7. At night the bride and bridegroom are seated in a square (*chauk*) in the bride's courtyard. The father's sister's husbands (apparently a survival of the matriarchate) who manage the business, sit on each side of the pair. They join the hands of the boy and girl, and putting a ring of grass on her finger pour water over their hands while they cry *Bar kanya chiranji rahen*—"Long life to bride and bridegroom." This is said five times, and water is poured over their hands five times. Then the pair walk five times round a branch of the cotton tree (*semal*) which is fixed up in the marriage shed.[1] Next a curry stone is placed before the pair and on it is

[1] For the respect paid to the cotton tree among the Khânds, *see* Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 225.

laid a piece of betel-nut. The bridegroom holds the bride's foot and knocks this off with her toe. This is known as *kuri metna*—"to obliterate the pile," and is said to imply that the rule of the prohibited degrees has been observed in the marriage.[1] Next the bridegroom takes some red lead and rubs the girl with it from the tip of her nose up to the crown of her head, while her sister comes forward and collects (*sendur bahorna*) any loose grains in the corner of her sheet. For this she gets a fee of two annas. Next the pair go into the *kohabar* or retiring room, where a good deal of coarse merriment goes on at the expense of the bridegroom.[2] The ceremony winds up with a feast and the escort of the bride to her husband's house. A day or two after bride and bridegroom take the two wedding jars (*kalsa*) to a neighbouring tank. The bride stands with her back to her husband and with an affectation of secresy throws her jar into the water (*kalsa dulâna*). He then stands with his back to her and throws in his jar. Both proceed to search for them, and when they find them fill them with water and bring them home. On the way they rest them on the ground and pour a little of the *bundiya* sweetmeat made of gram flour and butter on the ground. Then they proceed to the tree under which is the shrine of Deonâth, the tribal god, and there make a fire offering (*hom*) with sugar and butter. This closes the marriage ritual, the binding portion of which is the application of red lead (*sendurdân*) to the parting of the bride's hair.[3]

Death ceremonies.

8. The tribe appears to be in the transition stage between burial and cremation of the dead. In Oudh they bury: in Mirzapur they usually burn the corpse. The dead are cremated in the usual way on the bank of a neighbouring stream. After the cremation is over they pour some oil on their toe-rings, which they take off and warm over a fire and then return to the house of the deceased, where they sit silent for some time before dispersing. On the third day the chief mourner collects the ashes and throws them into running water, and plants near the stream a few stalks of reed grass (*jhurai*) as a receptacle for the vagrant spirit. Water is poured on this daily for ten days. On the tenth day is the Ghât ceremony when the clansmen shave each other, no barber being employed. Three balls (*pinda*) of flour

[1] *Kuri* means "a pile," and also the exogamous section of the tribe.
[2] For the significance of this ceremony, see *Kol*, para. 13.
[3] This represents the primitive blood covenant.

are thrown into the water by the chief mourner, and he pours three handfuls of water on the ground in the name of the dead. While he does this he turns his hands backwards. No Brâhman is employed and the part of priest is taken by the sister's son of the deceased, (another survival of the matriarchate),[1] for which he receives as his fee an axe and a knife. After this the relations and members of the council sit round the chief mourner, and his sister's husband (*bahnoi*) ties a turban on his head in proof that he has taken the place of his father.

Ancestor worship.

8. They are in great fear of the ghosts of the dead who appear in dreams and worry people if they are not propitiated. Their sacrifice is done at the Phagua (Holi) festival when a goat, fowl, and some spirits are offered to them. When people are sick they make vows to the sainted dead (*purkha log*), and, when they recover, make offerings to them. In Oudh they are beginning to get a low Brâhman to perform a sort of *Srâddha*.

Religion.

9. The Dharkârs call themselves Hindus but have a special pantheon of their own, the functions of which are exceedingly vague. Pahâr Pando is a sort of mountain god. Dûrasin is possibly a local development of Jarasandha, the deified King of Magadha. Banhiya Bîr (the hero of the arm—*bânh*) and Deonâth are deified tribal worthies. Angârmati Bhawâni ("the goddess of the blazing charcoal") is a vague female divinity. Further north towards the Ganges they worship Birtiya, a vague deity who is apparently merely a guardian godling (Sans. *vritti*, "support, maintenance"), Dulha Deo, the god of marriage, and the five saints of Islâm (Pânchonpîr), especially Parihâr. Dulha Deo is worshipped on a Saturday in the light half of Kârttik or Baisâkh, when a castrated goat (*khasi*) is offered in the house and the worshippers consume the flesh. He is also propitiated with a loin-cloth dyed in turmeric: and when the worshipper puts this on he gets into a state of frenzy, shakes his head and announces oracles. If Dulha Deo is not worshipped he sends fever and sundry other diseases. The Pânchonpîr are worshipped with the sacrifice of a cock and cakes (*rot*); all who worship them keep a house shrine in their honour. In Oudh they worship Devi with an offering of a goat.

10. The more Southern Dharkârs worship the pantheon above

[1] *See* Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 149.

described collectively every second or third year in the house. First they make a burnt sacrifice (*hom*) with bütter and treacle, then offer a goat and cock, and pour spirits on the ground. Any one can do this worship, and no Brâhman or Baiga is employed. They worship the sainted dead at the Holi, Dasahra, and in the month of Kuâr. On these occasions they all get drunk and dance in a special way with rattling bangles (*ghungru*) attached to their ankles to the music of the tambourine (*dafla*) and the flute (*bânsuli*). Then they visit in procession the houses of the respectable people in the village, dance, and receive fees (*phirihri*). The usual allowance is a sieve (*sûp*) full of any kind of grain. They believe sunstroke to be due to the attack of Angârmati Bhawâni, who rides in her chariot through the sky in the hot weather. She is appeased on such occasions with a burnt offering (*hom*) and the sacrifice of a goat. All the collective godlings of their pantheon have their abode in a mud platform (*chaura*) erected in the dwelling house. Traces of tree worship are found in their adoration at marriages of a branch of the cotton tree which has the special name of Kalyâni or "the auspicious one." Among the myriad ghosts which surround them they particularly fear the ghosts of drowned people (*bûrna*) who infest tanks where people have been drowned and push in unwary travellers.

11. Fields have also their special Bhûts, and the shrine of a person killed by a tiger (*baghaut*) is specially reverenced. Their special worship of the bamboo consists in their cutting one bamboo in the month of Aghan when the general cutting begins. This they bring home with marked respect and make a burnt offering (*hom*) before it with butter and treacle. After this bamboo-cutting and basket-making go on. The women tattoo themselves in the usual way: if they do not, Bhagwân brands them with a torch when they die. Friday is their lucky day, and on that day they commence bamboo-cutting. They have the usual meeting omens and the ordinary ideas about the quarters of the heavens. They believe in the demoniacal theory of disease. In such cases they get the Baiga to do a sacrifice to the collective village gods (*deohâr*): a goat or cock is the usual offering. In specially bad cases of illness the Baiga or Ojha is called in and recognises the particular Bhût, which causes trouble, by shaking about and counting some grains of barley in a sieve. When a person is attacked by the Evil Eye they get some cow-dung ashes, blow into it five times in the name of the sainted

dead, and then rub it on the child. In very bad cases a special offering is made to the spirits of the dead (*purkha log*).

Social customs.

12. The women wear pewter anklets (*pairi*), glass or lac bangles (*chûri*) on the wrists, and brass rings (*churla*) on the upper arm, with a pewter ring on the big toe. They abandon this ring on widowhood, and, as has been seen in treating of the death ceremonies, it is supposed to have some mystic significance. On the toe next the big toe women wear a small pewter ring (*chhutki*). This is also taken off at widowhood. On their foreheads they wear spangles (*tikuli*), palm leaf ornaments (*tarki*) in the ears, and beads (*guriya*) round the neck. They swear by putting a bamboo on the head, and think that if they forswear themselves they lose their children and property. They have now prohibited eating beef and punish its use by excommunication: but this is quite recent, and hardly prevails generally among the less Hinduised branch of the tribe south of the Son. In Oudh some of them will not eat meat during the fortnight (*pitrapaksha*) sacred to the dead. They will not eat food cooked in butter (*pakka khâna*) if touched by a Chamâr, Dhobi, Patâri, Bhuiya, or Dom. They consider themselves much superior to the Doms. as they have abandoned the filthy habits common to the ordinary Doms. Food cooked in water (*kachcha khâna*) they will eat only if cooked by one of their own caste. They have the usual Dom prejudice against the Dhobi. They will not touch their younger brother's wife, their wife's elder sister or the mother (*samdhin*) of their sons' or daughters' wives and husbands. They use spirits and tobacco freely. Men and women eat apart; men first and women after them: but a very old woman is allowed to eat with the men. Seniors they salute in the *pâélagi* form, and receive the blessing (*asîs*) in return. They are very hospitable and will borrow to entertain a guest. As a rule they treat women fairly well, but beat them if they misbehave themselves. They are respectful to the old. No Dharkâr was ever known to read or write. They have a very strong tribal council, and very seldom come before the courts. They work only in bamboo, not in reed (*sentha*). They make winnowing fans (*sûp*), baskets (*daurî*), boxes (*petâra*), betel boxes (*bilahra*), and red lead boxes (*pauti*). These in the villages are made always on grain wages, and it is only in towns that they are paid in cash.

Distribution of Dharkârs according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Bansphor.	Benbansi.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dûn . . .	...	...	13	13
Sahâranpur . . .	...	...	32	32
Allahâbâd	198	986	4,050	5,234
Benares	...	1,559	323	1,882
Ghâzipur	...	...	1	1
Gorakhpur . . .	102	3,588	1,533	5,228
Basti	213	4,712	379	5,304
Azamgarh	798	2,505	431	3,734
Lucknow	28	1	40	69
Faizâbâd . . .	144	2,274	278	2,696
Gonda	...	1,311	485	1,796
Bahraich	...	66	16	82
Sultânpur . . .	285	1,453	636	2,374
Partâbgarh . . .	37	555	602	1,194
Total .	1,805	19,010	8,824	29,639

Dhobi,[1]—the washerman caste who take their name from the Hindi *dhona* (Sans. *dhâv*), to wash. Dhobis have no very distinct traditions of their origin. In Bihâr, according to Mr. Risley,[2] they trace their descent from Gâri Bhuiya—one of the local gods of that part of the country. Another account makes them out to be the offspring of a Kshatriya father and a Chamâr woman. In Mirzapur they name as their ancestor a personage named Râwat, and say that Mahâdeva and Pârvati, disgusted at the filth of the people of the world, created the Dhobi to keep their clothes clean in future. Mr. Nesfield suggests that "the washer-

[1] Based to some extent on notes by Pandit Bhân Pratâp Tiwâri of Chunâr.
[2] *Tribes and Castes*, I, 233.

man represents an impure caste, but is many degrees higher than that of the Bhangi, from whom he has sprung. Both are descended from the Dom, whose sole wealth, according to Manu, must be dogs and asses. The Indian washerman has always been associated with the indigenous ass, which carries the soiled clothes down to the bank of the river or tank, and takes them back clean to the house. No Hindu of any caste, even the lowest, will wash his own clothes, and so the Dhobi has been formed into a caste which shall bear the impurities of all." Mr. Risley disputes this connection of Doms and Dhobis through the common use of the donkey on various grounds. "In the first place the use of donkeys by the Dhobi caste is so far from being universal that it has given rise to the formation of a slightly inferior sub-caste called Gadhaiya. Secondly, beyond the highly conjectural identification of the Doms with the Chandâls spoken of by Manu, there is nothing to show that the Doms have the faintest partiality for the donkey. On the contrary the Magahiya Doms of Bihâr will not touch a donkey and regard the Dhobi with very special aversion." It does not appear necessary to connect the Dhobi with either the Dom or Bhangi in order to account for the low social rank which he holds. One of his chief tasks, except among the Dravidian tribes who do the work themselves, is to wash the clothing of women after child-birth, and his association with blood of this kind, which is particularly abhorred, stamps him as specially impure. Like the Kumhâr he keeps asses; but every Dhobi does not necessarily do so, and may use oxen for carrying clothes to and from the river.

Internal organisation.

2. Like many castes of the same social grade Dhobis assert that there are seven endogamous divisions or sub-castes. Thus Sir H. M. Elliot gives the sub-castes as Kanaujiya, Magahiya, Pagahiya, Belwâr, Bâtham, and Sribâtham (who take their name from Srâvasti) and Bharka. The last Census gives eleven—Ajudhyabâsi, Bais, Chithoriya, Deswâr, Kaithiya, Kanaujiya, Kathariya, Mathuriya, Purbiya or Purabiya, and Sribâstab. A list from Mirzapur gives them as Kanaujiya, Belwâr, Magahiya, Sribâstab, Musalmân Dhobi, Baiswâra, and Bhojpuriya. Another from Agra gives—Mathuriya, Bharka, Mârwâri, Purbiya, and Purbiya Kampu. In Bareilly we find Kathariya, Dehliwâla, Kampûwâla, and Musalmân. All these are endogamous. Their rule of exogamy, as stated by them, at Mirzapur is that they will not marry in the family of their mater-

nal uncle, father's sister or their own family (*kul*) as long as any connection by marriage is remembered. The complete Census Return shows no less than 925 sub-divisions of the Hindu and 216 of the Muhammadan branch. Of these the most important locally are the Chauhân, Chhonkar and Gaur of Muzaffarnagar, the Chhonkar of Meerut, the Purabiya of Agra, the Deswâli of Farrukhâbâd, the Sakarwâr of Mainpuri, the Bakhar, Jalchhatri, Magadhiya, Mangasha and Pâthak of Bareilly, the Râjput of Morâdâbâd, the Bhadauriya, Jalkhatri, and Mahadwâr of Shâhjahânpur, the Deswâli and Purbiya of Pilibhit, the Amethiya and Belwâr of Cawnpur, the Mâthur of Fatehpur, the Belwâr and Mâthur of Bânda, the Dakkhinâha, Sarwariya and Uttarâha of Basti, the Dakkhinâha, Deswâli, Sarwariya and Uttarâha of Azamgarh, the Purabiya of Lucknow, the Jalpachhar, Magaraha and Sarwariya of Râê Bareli, the Jaiswâr of Faizâbâd, the Ujjaini of Gonda, the Bahrâichiya of Bahrâich, the Jaiswâr of Sultânpur, and the Mangaraha of Bârabanki.

Marriage ceremonies.

3. To the east of the Province the age for marriage is twelve for girls and fourteen for boys. A match maker (*agua*) at the request of the girl's father looks out for a suitable match. When the auspicious time (*sa'at*) has been fixed by the Brâhman, he casts the horoscopes (*gauna girâna*), and when these are found to correspond, the parents meet and the rite of *kori katori* is performed. In this the girl's father fills a glass full of liquor, puts into it a silver coin and passes it over to the boy's father with the words *Râm! Râm!* When he has drunk he hands it back to the girl's father, who also drinks out of it, and then liquor is served to the clansmen present. This constitutes the betrothal (*mangni*). Then a Brâhman is called in for the *dhân pân*. In this the girl's father takes one *ser* of paddy, two packets of betel and two betel-nuts. Both fathers hold a cloth in their hands. The Brâhman first throws one packet of betel and one betel-nut into the cloth where it is held by the boy's father, and does the same for the girl's father. He next throws a handful of paddy five times into each side of the cloth. Both parents tie this up, and it is parched and used for throwing over the pair at the wedding. Then the Brâhman explains to both the fathers the lucky days for the collection of the sacred earth (*matmangara*) and for the anointing (*tel hardi*), and the proper date for the wedding. For this service each gives the Brâhman a pice and a ration of uncooked grain.

The girl is feasted that night and returns home the following morning.

4. On the day of the *matmangara* the women assemble and sing after they have anointed their heads with oil. Then the sacred earth is collected in the way already described in the case of the Bhuiyas. On the day of the anointing five men of the tribe erect the marriage pavilion in the usual manner. The barber's wife rubs the boy with a sprig of *dúb* grass soaked in oil and turmeric. No Brâhman attends. On the *bhatwán* day the clansmen are fed on rice and pulse, and at night they get drunk and sing the song known as *birha*. When the bridegroom, dressed in his wedding garments, starts with his procession, he is carried out as far as the door in the arms of his brother-in-law. When he gets outside the village his wedding clothes are taken off, and he does the rest of the journey on foot until he approaches the house of the bride, when he is dressed again. His brother-in-law again carries him in his arms to the door of the bride's house, where the wave ceremony (*parachhan*) is done by his future mother-in-law, who moves a rice pounder, sieve and a *lota* full of water round his head. During this time a Dhârhi plays the *mridang* or double drum, and the women beat earthen saucers (*thiliya*) with pieces of stone. Then men sing the *birha* and the women the *lâchâri* songs. The wedding party then retire to the reception place (*janwánsa*) where all the clansmen assemble. There some food is sent for the bridegroom from the bride. Then the bridegroom and another boy who acts as his best man (*shâhbâla*) eat together. This food is brought by the girl's brother-in-law, who receives one anna as his perquisite. Then the clansmen have a drink and salute each other. When the lucky time arrives for the marriage, they take the bridegroom to the pavilion and seat him on a stool facing the east. The friends sit on each side. A piece of mango wood is lighted and some clarified butter dropped on it with mango leaves (*tallo*). The men recite the auspicious marriage songs (*sumangala swâha*) and then the bride is brought into the pavilion by her sister or sister-in-law and she knots together the clothes of the pair. Then the bride's father washes the great toes of the pair in a tray full of Ganges water, which he drinks, and throws a little of the water on his head. Then behind the shelter of a sheet which is held up before them the boy applies red lead to the parting of the girl's hair, and they walk five times round the marriage pavilion. The boy's elder brother throws

parched rice over them, and puts a necklace round the bride's neck. Then her sister-in-law escorts the pair into the retiring room (*kohabar*) and makes them bow to the family god. After this the boy's wedding crown is removed and he returns to the wedding party.

5. Next comes the wedding feast (*byáh ka bhát*). Unmarried boys among Dhobis do not eat boiled rice (*bhát*). They taste it first after they are married. The next day the bride goes off with her husband. On the third day is the *panwpheri*, when, if the two houses are near, the bride goes alone back to her father's house and comes home by herself to her husband. Widows are married in the ordinary way by the *sagái* or *dharauna* form and the levirate is allowed, but it is not compulsory on the widow to take the younger brother of her late husband.

Birth and death ceremonies.

6. The ceremonies at birth and death are of the usual type common among tribes of the same social standing. The ceremonial shaving (*múnran*) is not usually done unless the parents have been blessed with a son in answer to a vow (*manauti*).

Religion.

7. Dhobis usually worship the Pânchonpîr and Devi. They are much given to the worship of ghosts, one of whom named Ghatoriya has a great reputation in Bundelkhand. They have a very strong tribal council and are very severe on breaches of caste custom. They rank of course very low in the social scale, and no respectable Hindu will take anything from their hands. He is the subject of many proverbs:

Nai dhobiniya aweli,
Chirkutwe sábun laweli.

"The new washerwoman will apply soap even to rags." "A new broom sweeps clean." *Dhobi par Dhobi base, tab kapre par sábun pare.* "When many Dhobis compete, then only does soap reach the clothes."[1]

[1] Christian, *Behar Proverbs.*

Distribution of Dhobis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Ajudhiya-bâsi.	Bais.	Bâtham.	Chithoriya.	Deswâr.	Kaithiya.	Kanaujiya.	Kathariya.	Mathuriya.	Purbiya.	Sribâstab.	Others.	Musalmân Dhobis.	Total.
Dehra Dûn . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	629	...	...	...	...	719	313	1,661
Sahâranpur . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	211	...	...	...	...	3,652	4,340	8,203
Muzaffarnagar .	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	821	5,413	6,246
Meerut . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,110	8,684	10,794
Bulandshahr . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	19	60	186	...	...	7,982	1,906	10,153
Aligarh . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,665	...	...	10,015	1,187	15,867
Mathura . .	...	...	609	1	347	...	109	105	1,488	...	...	4,031	1,046	7,736
Agra . .	...	...	2,951	38	1,229	...	264	...	2,380	648	...	4,998	675	13,183
Farrukhâbâd . .	...	142	1,491	...	...	4,435	2,866	76	115	...	142	3,031	239	12,537
Mainpuri . .	...	129	1,208	11	...	2,621	297	...	5,523	...	...	3,674	18	13,481
Etâwah . .	...	...	7,198	...	...	920	319	...	510	...	88	2,480	3	11,518
Etah . .	...	...	6	138	...	645	15	7	9,781	...	...	1,406	379	12,377

Distribution of Dhobis according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Ajudhiya-bâsi.	Bais.	Bâtham.	Chithoriya.	Deswâr.	Kaithiya.	Kanaujiya.	Kathariya.	Mathuriya.	Purbiya.	Srîbâstab.	Others.	Musalmân Dhobis.	Total.
Bareilly . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	113	8,604	...	...	...	9,546	3,838	22,101
Bijnor . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	152	...	...	...	...	1,445	7,030	8,627
Budaun . .	...	...	...	...	...	95	37	715	8,110	...	...	2,400	4,174	15,531
Morâdâbâd . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	...	884	...	...	5,967	7,384	14,252
Shâhjahânpur .	...	107	8,470	...	...	390	1,384	382	1,760	...	376	6,427	325	19,571
Pilibhît . .	...	60	1,563	...	...	...	1,621	293	734	...	571	4,819	314	9,975
Cawnpur . .	...	39	8,202	...	...	125	1,528	47	...	...	2,173	5,170	117	17,401
Fatehpur . .	...	276	4,740	...	...	...	105	...	...	...	1,645	1,795	708	9,269
Bânda . .	...	...	2,159	...	...	...	15	...	...	...	5,506	1,057	172	8,909
Hamîrpur . .	...	249	182	...	...	...	7	...	10	...	5,806	1,698	377	8,329
Allahâbâd . .	...	...	9,195	...	...	...	4,840	...	...	...	809	5,715	715	21,274
Jhânsi . .	...	...	4,314	...	...	...	315	...	25	...	637	1,250	15	6,556
Jâlaun . .	...	14	4,443	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	108	1,667	144	6,385

Lalitpur . .	...	20	3,771	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	625	...	4,417
Benares . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,878	...	...	...	...	344	818	8,040
Mirzapur . .	...	...	...	...	...	442	9,044	...	...	...	...	2,308	672	12,466
Jaunpur . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12,776	...	...	1,783	1,080	15,639
Ghâzipur . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,076	...	...	...	...	396	1,250	8,722
Ballia . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,947	...	...	...	..	280	6	8,233
Gorakhpur . .	117	...	...	...	...	...	37,238	...	...	...	...	9,174	2,971	49,500
Basti . .	4,128	...	...	...	...	...	17,425	...	...	...	...	12,367	1,795	35,715
Azamgarh . .	...	...	...	22	...	...	14,071	...	68	...	...	1,115	2,212	14,488
Kumaun . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	195	...	206
Garhwâl . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	29	61
Tarâi . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	38	1,258	...	...	...	526	2,096	3,918
Lucknow . .	140	82	1,034	...	...	...	2,052	...	...	...	2,092	6,624	769	12,793
Unâo .	...	447	1,781	...	...	...	1,991	...	...	...	7,784	3,828	311	16,142
Râe Bareli . .	24	33	1,098	...	...	62	3,258	43	1,715	...	...	6,408	474	13,115
Sitâpur . .	318	...	5,558	...	...	...	1,143	27	81	...	3,768	8,616	889	20,400
Hardoi . .	...	...	14,628	...	...	...	497	...	...	...	...	3,955	452	19,532

Distribution of Dhobis according to the Census of 1891—concld.

DISTRICTS.	Ajudhiya-bâsi.	Bais.	Bâtham.	Chithoriya.	Deswâr.	Kaithiya.	Kanaujiya.	Kathariya.	Mathuriya.	Purbiya.	Srîbâstab.	Others.	Musalmân Dhobis.	TOTAL.
Kheri . .	27	19	8,874	71	...	74	499	126	5	...	347	3,017	1,755	16,814
Faizâbâd . .	1,094	...	14	...	...	...	12,698	...	...	...	141	2,632	638	17,217
Gonda . .	6,619	...	...	...	...	283	1,906	...	...	...	...	14,377	2,450	25,635
Bahrâich . .	2,958	2	428	...	...	...	2,634	...	...	...	259	9,476	3,469	19,226
Sultânpur . .	165	54	1,163	...	...	...	6,612	...	...	...	674	3,951	1,319	13,938
Partâbgarh . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,632	...	...	...	862	5,557	1,385	10,436
Bârabanki . .	19	78	370	...	...	...	7,200	...	...	...	763	6,124	2,591	17,145
TOTAL .	15,609	1,751	95,462	281	1,576	10,092	157,723	11,693	50,816	648	36,551	197,585	78,947	658,734

Dhuniya, Dhuna (Hindi *dhunna*, "to card:" Sans. *dhu*, "to agitate"), the cotton-carding caste. Other names for them are Behna (Sans. *vija*, "seed"), who is properly the man who removes the cotton seed from the fibre; Katera (*kâtna* "to spin"), Kandera (Sans. *karsha*, "dragging," *kâra*, "doer"); if he is a Muhammadan or the speaker a pedant he is called Naddâf, which in Arabic means "separator." There are some Hindus who carry on this occupation; but most of them are Muhammadans, and these alone find an entry in the returns of the last Census.

The Hindu Dhuniyas.

2. To the west of the Province the Hindu Dhuniyas claim to be of Râjput origin. They are divided into five endogamous sub-castes—Chauhân and Bargûjar, which are well-known Râjput septs; and the Dhakeri, Bargali and Chhunkari, which take their names from the *dhâk* tree (*butea frondosa*), the *bar* (*Ficus Indica*), and the *chhonkar* (*prosopis spicigera*), all of which are sacred trees and regarded with special respect by those Dhuniyas who take their names from them. This idea is probably of totemistic origin. The sub-castes are endogamous, and though there does not appear to be any regular formula of exogamy, marriage is usually forbidden in the families of the uncles and aunts on both sides. Their marriage, birth, and death customs are of the usual type common to low castes in the same social grade. Their deities are Mâta, the small-pox goddess, Mîran Sâhib, the saint of Amroha, Châmar, Devi, and the Ganges. They employ Brâhmans in their religious ceremonies and perform the *srâddha* for deceased ancestors. They drink spirits and eat the flesh of goats, sheep and fish, but not beef, pork, fowls, or carrion.

The Muhammadan Dhuniyas.

3. These were recorded in the general Census Report under only one main sub-caste, the Mansûri, who take their name from a tribal saint, Khwâja Mansûr, of whom they can give no account, save that he was a faqîr of wondrous piety, who had the power of working miracles. He is believed to have been a native of Rûm or Constantinople, and to have accompanied the Dhuniyas when they entered the country in the train of the early Muhammadan invaders. To the east of the Province they call themselves Sunni Muhammadans, but they have retained in their domestic ceremonies many of the forms of the Hindu ritual of the lower castes from which most of them are probably converts. Thus they collect the sacred earth (*matmangara*) at marriages, carry out the night watch (*ratjaga*) before marriage,

and there is a distinct survival of marriage by capture in the observance by which the bride, when the bridegroom arrives at the house for the marriage, is furnished with a small stick with which she gives him two or three slight blows on the head as he enters the door. The marriage service is read by the Qâzi if the parties are well-off; by the Dafâli if they are poor. At death if there is an educated Muhammadan present he reads the Fâtiha; but this is not indispensable. They are usually worshippers of the Pânchonpîr, and they have one special usage, known as the *Piyâla* or "cup," when on a Tuesday in the month of Aghan the men and women go to the riverside and offer up some spirits and sweetmeats to Sahjamâi, one of the quintett eof the Pânchonpîr; this is consumed by the Dafâli who acts as priest. They spend the whole night by the river listening to the songs sung in honour of the goddess by the Dafâli.

4. The complete Census Returns show 152 sections of the Muhammadan branch of the tribe. Many of them are local terms, such as the Ajudhyabâsi, Audhiya, Bahrâichi, Baksariya, Gangapâri, Mathuriya, Purabiya; others are taken from well-known castes or septs, such as the Baheliya, Banjâra, Bargûjar, Chauhân, Dhângar, Gaur, Gorakhi, Gûjar, Kharebindi, Madâri, Mukeri, Naddâf, Panwâr, Pathân, Râjput, Râthaur, Râwat; others are purely Muhammadan in form as Ansâri, Châryâri, Jalâli, Khwâjamahar, Khwâja-mansûri, Khwâja-Muhammadi, Khwâja-Sarâi, Muhammad Hanfi, Muhammadi, Momîn, Sayyid, Shâhmansûri, Shaikh Shiah, Sunni, Turkiya, and Usmâni.

Occupation.

5. The primary business of the Dhuniya is the carding or rather scutching of cotton. This is done by subjecting it to the vibration produced by a bow string (*dhanuhi*, Sanskrit, *dhanus*). The bow is usually suspended from the roof so as to hang at a convenient height above the pile of loose cotton. The string is then twanged with a wooden catch so as to strike a small portion of the cotton, the fibre of which is scattered by the impact and thrown off in an uniform condition of soft fluff. At the same time any dirt which is entangled in the fibre falls out and the clean cotton is made up into balls, some of which are passed on to the spinner and some are used for the padding of quilts and wraps (*razâi*, *lihâf*) and the warm-padded garments used in the cold weather. The Dhuniya also sometimes keeps a small shop where he sells thread and various articles, such as

pewter bangles, forehead spangles, and similar things. Another trade which he often follows is the making of the little charcoal balls (*tikiya*) used for lighting the tobacco in the *huqqa*.

Nâmdeo, the saint.

6. The Dhuniyas have in Nâmdeo Bhagat a tribal saint who is much respected by them. He is said to have been born in Mârwâr in A.D. 1443 and to have flourished in the time of Sikandar Lodi (1488-1512). According to one account he was a Mahratta and was born at Pandharpur, in the Dakkhin. "He is said to have been persecuted by the Musulmâns, who tried to persuade him to repeat the words *Allâh! Allâh!* instead of his favourite *Râm! Râm!* but by a variety of astonishing miracles he escaped from their hands. After a considerable amount of travelling to and fro, he at last settled in the village of Ghumân, in the Batâla Tahsîl of the Gurdâspur District, where he died. A shrine, known as the Darbâr, was erected in his honour in Ghumân, and on the Sankrânt day of every Mâgh a crowded fair is held there in his honour. His followers can scarcely be said to constitute a sect. They are almost entirely Chhimbas (the Dhuniyas of these Provinces) or Dhobis by caste. Their founder appears to have stoutly resisted the pretensions of Muhammadanism, and was looked as a follower of Râmchandra, but his Hinduism was by no means of the ordinary type. He taught emphatically the unity of God and the uselessness of ceremonial, and his doctrines would appear to have approached fairly close to those of Nânak and the Eastern Sikhs; and several of his poems are included in the Sikh Adi Granth. At any rate the followers of Bâba Nâmdeo are very largely Sikhs by religion, and they are said, whether Sikhs or Hindus by religion, to hold the Granth in reverence and to follow many Sikh customs. They have no distinctive worship of their own."[1]

Distribution of the Dhuniyas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Mansâri.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	...	179	179
Sahâranpur	...	2,799	2,799
Muzaffarnagar	...	3,013	3,013
Meerut	...	4,422	4,422

[1] Maclagan, *Panjâb Census Report*, 1891, 144; also see *Chhîpi*, 5.

Distribution of the Dhuniyas according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Mansûri.	Others.	Total.
Bulandshahr	...	1,500	1,500
Aligarh	1,330	5,041	6,371
Mathura	...	64	64
Agra	11	399	410
Farrukhâbâd	1	7,329	7,330
Mainpuri	...	3,263	3,263
Etâwah	51	3,737	3,788
Etah	...	4,525	4,525
Bareilly	1,520	11,708	13,228
Bijnor	...	11,056	11,056
Budâun	44	1,808	1,852
Morâdâbâd	...	7,862	7,862
Shâhjahânpur	118	8,589	8,707
Pilibhît	15	5,932	5,947
Cawnpur	126	8,383	8,509
Fatehpur	1,639	3,756	5,395
Pânda	2,681	4,724	7,405
Hamîrpur	...	8,341	8,341
Allahâbâd	2,238	15,841	18,079
Jhânsi	228	4,374	4,602
Jâlaun	70	2,894	2,964
Lalitpur	...	1,116	1,116
Benares	703	4,553	5,256
Mirzapur	372	6,003	6,375
Jaunpur	11,710	2,049	13,759
Ghâzipur	2,055	2,318	4,373
Ballia	608	3,042	3,650

Distribution of the Dhuniyas according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Mansûri.	Others.	Total.
Gorakhpur	30,520	9,949	40,469
Basti	28,559	1,024	29,583
Azamgarh	2,256	17,428	19,684
Tarâi	...	1,745	1,745
Lucknow	1,460	4,186	5,646
Unâo	566	7,344	7,910
Râê Bareli	115	9,035	9,150
Sîtapur	5,845	7,749	13,594
Hardoi	50	10,708	10,758
Kheri	511	11,127	11,638
Faizâbâd	1	12,787	12,788
Gonda	699	12,264	16,963
Bahrâich	1,096	15,037	16,133
Sultânpur	...	7,909	7,909
Partâbgarh	258	7,369	7,627
Fârabanki	1,064	13,186	14,250
Total	98,520	303,467	401,987

Dhûsar; Dhûnsar,[1] a tribe usually classed as a sub-caste of Banyas, but who claim a higher origin than the ordinary Vaisyas. They take their name from a hill called Dhûsi or Dhosi, near Nârnaul, on the borders between Alwar and British territory. There their ancestor Chima or Chimand Rishi is said to have performed his devotions. This Rishi is said to have married a daughter of the Râja of Kâshi or Benares. Their head-quarters in Western India are Rewâri, in Gurgâon. Their pretensions to Brâhmanical origin are admitted by Brâhmans themselves, and they are now usually

[1] Partly based on a note by Bâbu Ishan Chandra Banarji, Head Master, High School, Râê Bareli.

known as Bhârgava or "descendants of Bhrigu," who was one of the Prajapatis or great Rishis, and is regarded as the founder of the race of the Bhrigus or Bhârgavas, in which were born Jamadagni and Parasurâma. Manu calls him son, and says that he confides to him his Institutes. According to the Mahâbhârata he officiated at Daksha's celebrated sacrifice, and had his beard pulled out by Siva. The same authority also tells the following story :—"It is related of Bhrigu that he rescued the sage Agastya from the tyranny of King Nahusha, who had obtained superhuman power. Bhrigu crept into Agastya's hair to avoid the potent glance of Nahusha, and when that tyrant attached Agastya to his chariot and kicked him on the head to make him move, Bhrigu cursed Nahusha and he was turned into a serpent. Bhrigu on Nahusha's supplication, limited the duration of the curse."[1]

2. In the hills they appear to be in some places Banyas and in others Brâhmans. "They take their food before morning prayer, contrary to the usual Hindu custom. Of late years, however, they have begun to adopt the more orthodox custom. They do not eat animal or other prohibited food, and do not drink spirits. They worship the orthodox deities and consider Brahma, Siva and Vishnu the same God under different forms. The Brâhman Dhûsar marries among his caste fellows, and the Banya with Banyas, avoiding always the same family (*gotra*) or one having the same family deity."[2] The only sections shown in the Census Returns are Kâns and Mâhur.

3. In the plains their traditions vary. According to one account they were driven from their original home, Kashmîr, by the tyranny of their rulers, and settled in Delhi. In Benares they fix on Delhi as their home. Those in Mathura have emigrated from Gurgâon and have acquired considerable property and influence. "They combine the office aptitude of the Kâyasth with the keen scent for money-making and the flinty hard-heartedness to a debtor characteristic of a Banya. They are consequently mostly hard landlords and wealthy men. They are the hereditary Qânûngos of Mathura and Chhâta."[3]

4. Dhûsars are all Vaishnavas, and in these Provinces at least none of them are Sarâogis. They regulate their lives by the most

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[1] Dowson, *Classical Dictionary*, *s. v.*
[2] Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 443.
[3] *Settlement Report*, 27.

orthodox rules of Hinduism and are particularly careful in the observance of Hindu ceremonies. They are a rising, ambitious, thriving class, excellent clerks and men of business. They are also noted for their skill in music.

5. The Bhârgava Sabha of Jaypur has supplied an account of the caste which represents that the Dhûsars were formerly family priests (*Purohit*) of various Râjas, but they now, since the Muhammadan invasions, have discontinued these functions. Other usages (*áchár*) they practise like Brâhmans. Only those who are noted for Sanskrit learning are known by the title Pandit. Like other Brâhmans they worship the Rishis, from whom these eponymous *gotras* are derived. Some do the oblation (*tarpana*) daily : others at the Pitrapaksha, or fortnight devoted to the dead. They worship the ordinary Pâncha Devata or five greater gods.

The main saints of the creed are Charandâsji, Navaldâsji and Nârâyandâsji, who flourished at Delhi, Mathura and Bindraban, respectively.

6. Their *gotras* are—

(1) Vid or Bandlas, with the Pravaras, Bhârgava, Chivan, Aptvân, Aurab, Bayidît.

(2) Bâchhlas or Vatsa, with Pravaras, Bhârgava, Chivan, Aptwân, Aurab, and Jâmdagna.

(3) Bâchhlas or Vatsa, with Pravaras, Bâchhal, Arjuna and Batsat.

(4) Kâsib or Kâship with Pravaras, Kâship, Kutsa, Bhârgava, Chivan, Aptvân, Aurab, Jâmdagna.

(5) Gârglas or Gâglas, with Pravaras, Gârgal, Dhriti, Mândava, Chivan, Vaishama, or Vinait.

(6) Kutsa or Kuchlas, with Pravaras, Kutsa, Aurab, Jâmdagna.

(7) Gâlas or Golas, with Pravaras, Bhârgava, Chivan, and Jâmdagna. All follow the ritual of the Yajur Veda. They claim to belong to the Pancha Gauda stock. They are invested with the Brâhmanical cord in the ordinary way. Each family has its own household god (*Kula devata*).

Distribution of the Dhûsars by the Census of 1891.[1]

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	8	Allahâbâd . . .	69
Sahâranpur . . .	33	Jhânsi . . .	4,020
Muzaffarnagar . .	21	Jâlaun . . .	121
Meerut . . .	395	Lalitpur . . .	696
Bulandshahr . . .	11	Benares . . .	75
Aligarh . . .	148	Mirzapur . . .	212
Mathura . . .	956	Jaunpur . . .	703
Agra	316	Ghâzipur . . .	24
Farrukhâbâd . .	28	Gorakhpur . . .	19
Mainpuri . . .	106	Basti . . .	373
Etâwah . . .	247	Lucknow . . .	864
Etah	3	Sîtapur . . .	31
Budâun . . .	13	Kheri	1
Morâdâbâd . . .	258	Faizâbâd . . .	30
Shâhjahânpur . .	4	Gonda	37
Cawnpur . . .	495	Bahrâich . . .	36
Fatehpur . . .	860	Sultânpur . . .	260
Bânda	470	Partâbgarh . . .	1
Hamîrpur . . .	535		
		Total .	12,497

[1] On the confusion between Dûsar and Dhûsar, see *Dûsar*.

Dikhit; Dikhshit (Sans. *dikhshita*, "initiated, consecrated"), a functional division of Brâhmans.—"The priest specially employed to initiate a Hindu boy into the performance of his religious duties, and to give him the second birth is called a Dikhshit. The word is simply a corruption of Dikhshitri, "one who initiates." It is only boys of the upper castes, that is those who are called "the twice-born" (*dvija*) who are entitled to the privilege of Diksha. But Brâhmanism has for the last thousand years and more been steadily descending into lower and lower strata of the population, absorbing one indigenous tribe after another; and hence the possession of this privilege cannot now be considered a mark of twice-born ancestry. The orthodox age for undergoing the rite of *diksha* is on the completion of the seventh year. The Hindu book of ceremonies, known as Karam Kand, calls it the eighth, but the figure is raised to eight by counting the nine months preceding birth as an additional year. At the present day the orthodox age is not always observed, and a boy can be initiated a year or two after if it suits the convenience of the parents to postpone incurring the expenditure which these rites entail. A boy, whatever his parentage may be, is not a full Hindu until the *diksha* has been performed. Up till then he is little better than a Sûdra or unregenerated person. But on and after that day he incurs the religious responsibilities to which his parents have all along intended to dedicate him, as a Christian boy does by the double rite of baptism and confirmation. Girls are never initiated as boys are; and thus a high caste woman who marries a man of the Sûdra rank cannot but become a Sûdra herself. This, I suspect, is the real explanation of the abhorrence felt by Hindus to a woman being married into a caste lower than her own. The same abhorrence has never been felt to a "twice-born" man marrying or cohabiting with a Sûdra woman; for the woman can rise to the rank of her husband, but as she has never been initiated she cannot raise the husband to her own. Thus in Manu's Code a Brâhman was allowed to take a Sûdra woman into his house; but if a Sûdra man married a Brâhman woman, the son became a Chandâla, a sinful and abominable wretch.

2. "The entire ceremony of *diksha* lasts some eight or nine days. Throughout those days the boy is put upon a very strict diet, and undergoes a vigorous course of ablutions. He is bathed regularly at certain hours; after the bath mustard and oil are rubbed all over his body, and he then undergoes a second bath to

wash them all off again. All this time he should wear nothing, day or night, but a string of the sacred grass called *kusa*, which is tied round his waist and to which a narrow cloth, called *langoti*, is attached, fastened between the legs before and behind. Meanwhile the usual *homa* offerings are thrown on the sacred fire by priests of the Hotri class, who have been summoned for this purpose. When the last and the greatest of the *homa* offerings has been made, the sacred thread (*upavîta, janeû*) is thrown over the left shoulder of the boy by the Dikshit, and the first act of the initiation is completed. The Dikshit then throws a cloth over his own and the boy's head, and under cover of this cloth he instils into his ear (in the undertone so that no profane ears may catch what he says) the Gâyatri and all the other sacred verses which a Hindu should utter on stated occasions every day of his life. The repetition of all these verses, and especially the Gâyatri, which is repeated first, constitutes the closing ceremony by which the boy is formally initiated into the rites of Hinduism. The boy must have heard and seen something of these rites beforehand through living with his parents; but until he has been formally initiated, and this by a Brâhman competent to discharge the office, he is a mere heathen. For some weeks after the conclusion of the ceremony the Dikshit remains with the novitiate so as to help him to perform the several daily rites and make him sufficiently perfect to be left to himself; and after leaving him he continues to be his spiritual adviser for the rest of his life whenever such advice may be required."[1] The rite is obviously analogous to the similar initiatory ceremonies which prevail among various primitive races.[2]

Dikhit; Dikhshit (Sans. *dikhshita*, "initiated, consecrated"), a powerful sept of Râjputs.—The traditions of the sept[3] relate that they are descended from the Sûrajbansi Râjas who for fifty-one generations ruled over Ajudhya. In the fifty-first generation from Ikshwâku, Râja Durgavâhu left Ajudhya and emigrated to Gujarât, where his descendants took the title of Durgbans after their founder. In the twenty-fourth generation from him Kalyân Sâh Durgbans went to pay homage to Râja Vikramaditya, the great King of Ujjain, the supreme monarch of India. From him

[1] Nesfield, *Calcutta Review*, CLXVII, 266; Monier Williams, *Brâhmanism and Hinduism*, 360.

[2] Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, 342, *sqq.*

[3] Elliott, *Chronicles of Unâo*, 34, *sqq.*

(about 50 B.C.) he received the title of Dikhit, which his descendants bore instead of Durgbans. For many years they remained stationary in Gujarât, and at the time when the kingdom of Kanauj was at its zenith Balbhadra Dikhit took service with the Râthaur Râja, and his grandson Jaswant saw the death of the Râja of Kanauj and the destruction of the power and family of his benefactor. The name of Balbhadra's father was Samapradhân, which is a singular name for a Râjput, and suggests a reason why the Dikhits do not rank so high in the precedence table as they ought to do if their tradition was correct. Pradhân was the old name for a Registrar (Qânûngo), which office was only given to Kâyasths. There may be some intermixture of Kâyasth blood which spoils the purity of their Sûrajbans descent. It is curious that in the two sets of villages bordering on old Dikhtiyâna and now held by Dikhits, there are traditions that the land once belonged to Kâyasths, who, when hard pressed by their enemies, obtained help from the Dikhits by ceding part of their villages to them. If the above hypothesis be true, the Kâyasths in this case only called in their own distant kindred. Jaswant Sinh had four sons, the eldest of whom remained in Samoni, and his descendants possess the estate to this day. The second, Udhaybhân, migrated into Oudh and colonized the district of Dikhtiyâna. The third, Banwâri, went still further north, crossing the Ghâgra and Râpti, and, choosing a safe retreat in the sub-Himalayan forests, founded there the great Sirnet Râj of Bânsi. The fourth, Khairâj, migrated to the east, and, settling down in the district of Partâbgarh, took the town of Bilkhar, whence his descendants are known as Bilkhariyas. The further fortunes of the sept are given in great detail by Sir C. Elliott.

2. The Dikhtiyâna territory is said to have extended from the borders of Baiswâra on the east, to Sandi Pâli on the west, and from the Gomati to the Ganges, including fourteen parganas. Whatever be their claim to an extensive dominion in the west, there can be no doubt that during this period the Dikhit Râja held a very high position in the country, and that this was the time when Dikhtiyâna became famous as a geographical expression. The list of marriages preserved by the bard proves this, containing, as it does, the names of the daughters of the Jângra Râja of Dhaurahra, the Bachgoti of Korar, the Gautam of Argal, the Bandhalgoti of Garh Amethi, and the Bisen of Mânikpur. With an Oudh Râjput it is always an object of ambition to marry his daugh-

ters into a family of a higher rank and position than his own, whatever the attendant expense may be. The chiefs of Eastern Oudh make it their ambition to marry their daughters only into the great Kachhwâha and Chauhân clans of Mainpuri and Etâwah; that they should have chosen the Râja of Dikhtiyâna for their son-in-law is a proof that at that time his rank and influence were as great as those of the older Western Râjas are now.

The Dikhits of the North-west Provinces.

3. The sept in pargana Pachotar of Ghâzipur[1] is called from the country they occupy Pachtoriya. They claim to be Sûrajbansis of Ajudhya, whence they emigrated to Gujarât. The Ghâzipur branch say that they came from Bulandshahr about twenty generations ago, and now occupy nearly the whole of the Pachotar pargana. In Azamgarh[2] they have been dispossessed of most of their property by the Birwârs. There is another Azamgarh sept known as Dikhitwâr, who are probably their kindred. They say that their ancestors came from somewhere in the west and occupied untenanted land, where the sept now resides. According to Sir H. M. Elliot, they give their daughters in marriage to the Sombansi, Raghubansi, Gaharwâr, and Bais, and take brides from the Sengar, Donwâr, and Kausik septs. In Oudh they have recently been allied only with neighbouring clans—Sengar, Sakarwâr, Raikwâr, Janwâr, etc., and infanticide used to be the general rule of the sept.

Marriage connections.

4. In Unâo the Dikhits generally give brides to the Chauhân, Bhadauriya, Kachhwâha, Sengar, and Râthaur septs beyond the Ganges, and occasionally to the Panwâr: they generally marry their sons in the Janwâr, Bisen, Mahror, Gautam or Chauhân septs of the district, Sombansi, Raghubansi, Amethiya, Gaharwâr, Kath, Bais, Gahlot, Panwâr, or Solankhi septs.

Distribution of the Dikhit Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	12	Mathura . . .	7
Bulandshahr . .	2	Agra . . .	9

[1] Oldham, *Memo.*, I, 58.

[2] *Settlement Report*, 57, 61.

Distribution of the Dikkit Râjputs according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Farrukhâbâd . .	7	Jaunpur . . .	799
Mainpuri . . .	32	Ghâzipur . . .	15,176
Etâwah . . .	117	Ballia . . .	1,090
Etah . . .	2	Gorakhpur . . .	3,613
Bareilly . . .	36	Azamgarh . . .	5,158
Budâun . . .	30	Lucknow . . .	984
Morâdâbâd . .	219	Unâo . . .	9,024
Shâhjahânpur . .	14	Râê Bareli . . .	2,099
Cawnpur . . .	868	Sîtapur . . .	299
Fatehpur . . .	5,560	Hardoi . . .	284
Bânda . . .	8,159	Kheri . . .	222
Hamîrpur . . .	3,546	Faizâbâd . . .	13
Allahâbâd . . .	813	Gonda . . .	5
Jhânsi . . .	369	Bahrâich . . .	69
Jâlaun . . .	55	Sultânpur . . .	364
Lalitpur . . .	4	Partâbgarh . . .	593
Benares . . .	532	Bârabanki . . .	410
Mirzapur . . .	162	Total .	60,727

Diwâna, "those possessed of an evil spirit (*dev, div*), mad"),—a term applied in these Provinces to an order of Muhammadan faqîrs, who have not been separately enumerated in the returns of the last Census.

In the Panjâb they are Hindus, wear uncut hair, a necklace of shells, and a large feather in their turbans. There is a considerable colony of them in connection with the shrine of the saint Qâsim Sulaimâni, near the fort of Chunâr, in the Mirzapur district.

2. Those at Chunâr call themselves the disciples of one Jamâl Diwâna. Boys are usually initiated into the order at the age of twelve. His friends take the candidate to the head faqîr of the order, who says,—"Are you ready to drink of my cup (*piyâla*) and

obey me in all things ?" If he agrees five articles of dress of an ochre colour are prepared for him, *viz.*, a head covering (*pheta*), a robe (*kafani*), a neck handkerchief (*gulubund*), and waist cloths (*lung, langot*). A barber is sent for and his head completely shaved ; he is bathed and invested with the garments of the order. Then the Murshid or preceptor sits facing the north, and the Murîd or disciple opposite him. An earthen cup containing one and-a-quarter *sers* of sharbat made of sugar and water is brought. First the Murshid recites the Dârûd or benediction and drinks a little. Then he passes it to the Murîd, who drinks, and while doing so keeps his eyes fixed on the Murshid. During this part of the rite he must not even wink. The Murshid then says to him,—" I am now responsible for your sins. Take care and fix your attention on me. Do not close your eyes." When he has drank the draught the Murshid gives him a necklace made of *jaitun* wood or of earth from Makka known as *khâk safa* or of the seed of the *Canna Indica* (*'aqîq' l-bahr*), a handkerchief of ochre-coloured cloth, a thin walking stick made of the wood of the peach tree (*âru*), and a wooden begging bowl (*kajkol*). With this he begs from all the company. He also receives a wooden scraper (*phâora*), which he ties to his waist. This over, he salutes the other members of the order present in the word *Miyân ;* and they reply *Haqq Miyân*. When he is thus initiated he gets a station (*takya*), and the Sajjâda-nashin or Abbot gives him daily for his food two cakes in the morning and three in the evening with some pulse. If the disciple does not care to live in the Dargâh or head-quarters of the order, he can remain with his friends by leave of the Murshid. Those who live in the Dargâh remain celibate ; if they live with their friends they can marry.

Domestic rites.

The non-celibate members of the order marry according to the regular Musalmân formula. The dowry (*mahr*) is generally fixed at fifty-one thousand rupees. Women in childbirth are secluded for forty days ; a fire is kept lighting in the room—and she is watched by her female friends, a custom known as *Qâzi Sâhib ki chauki*. In their death customs they conform to the usual Muhammadan ritual.

4. The Diwânas are a useless set of beggars and not held in much estimation by any one.

Dogar, a Panjâbi tribe who have emigrated in small numbers

into the western districts of these Provinces. Of them Mr. Brandreth writes in his Fîrozpur Settlement Report[1]:—

"The Dogars are supposed to be converted Chauhân Râjputs from the neighbourhood of Delhi. They migrated first to the neighbourhood of Pâk Pattan, whence they spread gradually along the banks of the Sutlej, and entered the Fîrozpur district about one hundred years ago. The Fîrozpur Dogars are all descended from a common ancestor named Bahlol, but they are called Mâhu Dogars, from Mâhu, the grandfather of Bahlol. Bahlol had three sons, Bambu, Langar, and Sammu. The Dogars of Fîrozpur and Mullanwâla are the descendants of Bambu; those of Khai the descendants of Langar; the descendants of Sammu live in the Qasûr territory. There are many other sub-castes of the Dogars in other districts along the banks of the Sutlej, as the Parchat, the Topara, the Chopara, etc. The Chopara Dogars occupy Mandot. The Fîrozpur Dogars consider themselves superior in rank and descent to the other sub-castes. They are very particular to whom they give their daughters in marriage, though they take wives from all the other families. At one time infanticide is said to have prevailed among them, but I do not think there is much trace of it at the present day.

2. Sir H. Lawrence, who knew the Dogars well, writes of them that they are "tall, handsome, and sinewy, and are remarkable for having almost without exception, large, aquiline noses; they are fanciful and violent, and tenacious of what they consider their rights, though susceptible to kindness, and not wanting in courage, they appear to have been always troublesome subjects, and too fond of their own free form of life to willingly take service as soldiers. The Jewish face which is found among the Dogars, and in which they resemble the Afghâns, is very remarkable, and makes it probable that there is very little Chauhân blood in their veins, notwithstanding the fondness with which they attempt to trace their connection with that ancient family of Râjputs. Like the Gûjars and Naipâlis they are great thieves, and prefer pasturing cattle to cultivating. Their favourite crime is cattle-stealing. There are, however, some respectable persons among them, especially in the Fîrozpur Ilâqa. It is only within the last few years that the principal Dogars have begun to wear any covering for the head; formerly the whole population, as is the case with the poor classes still, wore

[1] Quoted by Ibbetson, *Panjáb Ethnography*, para. 474.

their long hair over their shoulders without any covering either of sheet or turban. Notwithstanding the difference of physiognomy, however, the Dogars preserve evident traces of some connection with the Hindus in most of their family customs, in which they resemble the Hindus much more than the orthodox Muhammadans."

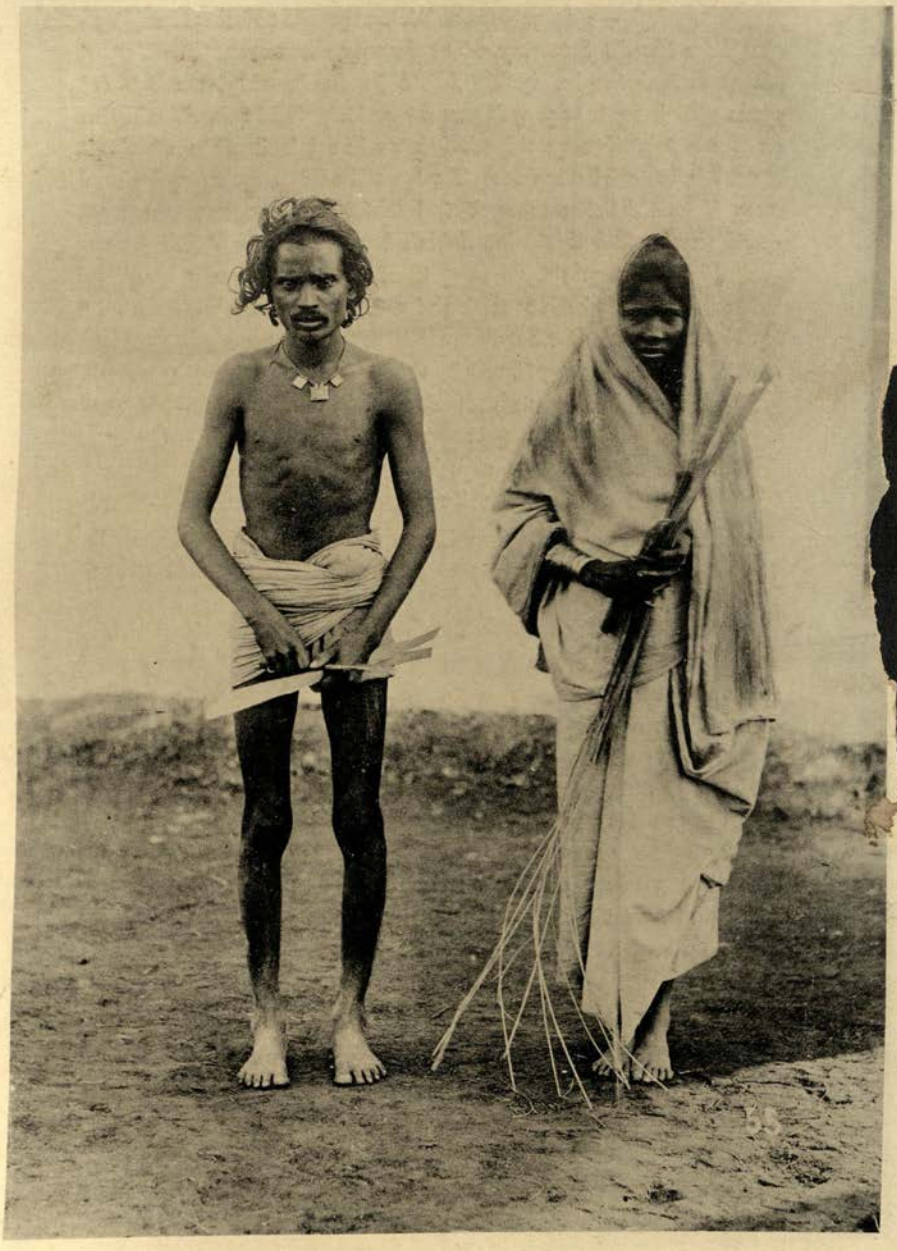
3. Mr. Ibbetson adds:—"The Râjput origin of the Dogars is probably very doubtful, and is strenuously denied by their Râjput neighbours, though I believe that Dogar or perhaps Doghar (*doghla*, probably Persian *daghol*, *dâgh*, "a stain") is used in some parts of the Province to denote one of mixed blood. Another derivation of the name is *doghgar* or "milkman." The Dogars seem to be originally a pastoral rather than an agricultural tribe, and still to retain a strong liking for cattle, whether their own or other people's. They are often classed with Gûjars, whom they much resemble in their habits. In Lahore and Firozpur they are notorious cattle thieves, but further north they seem to have settled down and become peaceful husbandmen. They are not good cultivators. Their social standing seems to be about that of a low class Râjput; they are practically all Musalmâns. Their chief clans in the Panjâb are Mattar; China; Tagra; Mâhu, and Chokra." In these Provinces they are all Musalmâns.

Distribution of the Dogars according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.
Sahâranpur	1
Muzaffarnagar	338
Total	339

Dom;[1] **Domra**; **Domahra** (Sans. *Doma*; *Dama*; *Domba*), a Dravidian menial caste found scattered throughout these Provinces, regarding whose origin and ethnological affinities there has been much speculation. To the east of the Province they are

[1] For the Eastern Doms the valuable note by Mr. J. Kennedy, C.S., has been largely used, and that of Pandit Jwâla Dat Joshi for the Hill Doms. In addition to these, notes by Mr. H. D. Ferard, C.S., Bânda: M. Chhedi Lâl, Deputy Inspector, Schools, Gorakhpur, and the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Bijnor and Dehra Dûn, have been consulted.



DOM.

usually known as Dom, but are sometimes called Jallâd, "executioner," Hatyâra, "murderous, blood-thirsty," or Súpach, which is, as we shall see, traditionally the name of the founder of the tribe, and who also enters into the legends of the Bhangis. The name seems to represent the Svapâka or "cooker of dogs," a man of a degraded and outcast tribe, the son of an Ugra woman by a Kshatriya. He is required to live outside towns like the Chandâla, to eat his food in broken vessels, to wear the clothes of the dead, and to be excluded from all intercourse with other tribes; he can possess no other property than asses and dogs, and his only office is to act as public executioner or to carry out the bodies of those who die without kindred. His kinsman, the Chandâla, according to Manu,[1] ranks in impurity with the town boar, the dog, a woman in her courses, and an eunuch, none of whom must a Brâhman allow to see him when eating. According to Dr. Caldwell[2] they are the surviving representatives of an older, ruder, and blacker race who preceded the Dravidians in India. Sir H. M. Elliot[3] considers them to be "one of the original tribes of India. Tradition fixes their residence to the north of the Ghâgra, touching the Bhars on the east in the vicinity of the Rohini. Several old forts testify to their former importance, and still retain the names of their founders, as, for instance, Domdiha and Domingarh, in the Gorakhpur District. Râmgarh and Sahnkot, on the Rohini, are also Dom forts." Attempts have, also, been made to connect them in some way with the Domkatâr or Domtikâr Râjputs of Gorakhpur, and with the Domwâr Bhuînhârs.[4] All this discussion is, as Mr. Risley says, somewhat profitless; but out of it seems to emerge "a general consensus of opinion that the Doms belong to one of the races whom, for convenience of expression, we may call the aborigines of India. Their personal appearance bears out this opinion. Mr. Beames[5] describes the Doms of Champâran as "small and dark, with long tresses of unkempt hair, and the peculiar glassy eye of the non-Aryan autochthon," and Mr. Sher-

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[1] *Institutes*, III, 239.

[2] *Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 546, quoted by Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I, 240.

[3] *Supplemental Glossary*, *s. v.*

[4] Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II., 353: *Archæological Reports*, XXII, 65, *sq*: Carnegy, *Notes*, 24.

[5] *Races of the North-Western Provinces*, 85.

ring[1] remarks that "dark-complexioned, low of stature, and somewhat repulsive in appearance, they are readily distinguished from all the better castes of Hindus." "The type, however," Mr. Risley adds, "as is the case with most widely-diffused castes, seems to display appreciable variations. In Eastern Bengal, according to Dr. Wise, the Dom's hair is long, black, and coarse, while his complexion is oftener of a brown than a black hue; and among the Magahiya Doms, whom I have seen in Bihâr, only a small portion struck me as showing any marked resemblance to the aborigines of Chota Nâgpur, who are, I suppose, among the purest specimens of the non-Aryan races of India. On the whole, however, the prevalent type of physique and complexion seems to mark the caste as not of Aryan descent, although evidence is wanting to connect it with any compact aboriginal tribe of the present day. The fact that for centuries they have been condemned to the most menial duties, and have served as the helots of the entire village community, would, of itself, be sufficient to break down whatever tribal spirit they may once have possessed, and to obliterate all structural traces of their true origin."

2. To this must be added another point which cannot be left out of consideration in dealing with these menial races. The tribes of scavengers, such as the Bhangi and Dom, have for many generations formed a sort of Cave of Adullam for the outcastes of the higher races, and the notorious immoral character of the women of these tribes must have had a powerful effect in modifying the physique and appearance of castes such as these. If the Dom varies in physical character from one part of the Province to another, it is only what might naturally be expected. On the whole it may perhaps be safer to regard the Doms, not as a single, individual aggregate, but as a more or less mixed body of menials, who have been for ages in a state of the utmost degradation, and whose appearance and physique have been largely modified by the rigour of their occupation and environment.

Tradition of origin—Eastern Doms.

3. The origin of the Dom to the east of the Province is thus told by themselves. In the good old times all people were equally well-to-do and happy. The Brâhmans had no property and built no houses for themselves. When Parameswar desired to appear in the world he took the

[1] *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I, 401.

form of a Brâhman. Then intending to divide men into castes, he went about begging as a Brâhman, wishing to ascertain what occupation each family followed. As he begged for alms no man gave him aught but silver and gold. At last he reached the house of a man who had killed a cow and was preparing to feed on the beef. He begged for alms, and the cow-killer brought from his house a handful of gold coins. Parameswar refused the money and asked for a little barley. The Domin, or woman of the house, went inside and found a place in the courtyard which had been trampled into mud by the feet of the cow in her death struggle, and there a few ears of barley had suddenly sprouted up. The woman plucked the grain and offered it to Parameswar, who asked her where she had found it. She told him how the grain had sprouted in her courtyard. Parameswar asked where was the cow which had prepared the ground in which the grain had grown. She replied that it had been killed by her husband. Then Parameswar was wroth and cursed her husband: "Thou and thy posterity shall kill animals and remain beggars for ever." Then the Domin cursed Parameswar in the form of a Brâhman—

Jahân Brâhman jâwé,
Châr dhakka khâwé,
Ek pichhâri, chhattís gantha.

"Wherever the Brâhman goes he shall receive four pushes. Thirty-six knots in a single sheet." So ever since Doms are beggars and slayers of animals, and Brâhmans are poor and live on alms. This legend, of course, cannot be of any great antiquity, as the feeling of respect for the cow is of comparatively modern origin.

4. According to the Panjâb legend the ancestor of the Doms was a Brâhman named Malludant. He was the youngest of the family, and his elder brothers expelled him. One day the calf of their cow died, and they asked Malludant to take away the carcass and bury it. When he did so he was treated as an outcast, and was obliged ever after to make his living by skinning and burying dead animals. This legend, under a slightly different form, is told also in connection with the Bhangis.

5. Another story, again, makes the Doms the descendants of Râja Ben or Vena, and from him one of their sub-castes has taken the name Benbansi. The legend of this king suggests that he was some early reformer who made himself obnoxious to Brâhmans.

When he became king he issued a proclamation,—"Men must not sacrifice nor give gifts nor present oblations. Who else but myself is the object of sacrifice? I am for ever the lord of offerings" The sages remonstrated respectfully with him, but in vain. They admonished him in sterner terms, and when he persisted in his piety they slew him with blades of the sacred *kusa* grass. After his death the sages beheld clouds of dust, and on inquiry found that they arose from the bands of men who had taken to plundering because the land was left without a king. As Vena was childless, the sages rubbed his thigh, and from it there came a man "like a charred log, with flat face and extremely short." The sages told him to sit down (*nishâda*). He did so, and hence was called Nishâda, from whom sprang the "Nishâdas dwelling in the Vindhyan mountains, distinguished by their wicked deeds." It may be noted that Benbans is the title of a modern Râjput sept which is of obvious Kharwâr origin. By another account the name is derived by the Doms from their trade in making fans (*bena*, Sans. *vyajana*).

Internal structure.

6. As might have been expected in the case of a tribe which is obviously composed of various elements their internal structure is most intricate. Under the general term Dom there are in these Provinces at least three distinct classes of people. There are, first, the wandering race of houseless thieves and vagrants who infest Bihâr and the eastern districts of the North-Western Provinces. Some of these have gradually raised themselves above the degraded status of their vagabond brethren. Some of them have settled down on the outskirts of towns and villages, and have taken to scavengering or industries connected with cane-work and basket-making. Such are the Dharkâr and Bânsphor or Basor, whom it is more convenient to discuss separately. Next come the Doms of the Himalayan districts, who deny all connection with the eastern branch of the tribe, and have gained a fairly respectable position as husbandmen and artisans. Lastly come the Dom or Dûm Mirâsi, who are singers and musicians, and are treated of under the head Mirâsi.

The Doms of the Eastern districts.

7. Like so many of the lower castes the Eastern Doms profess to have seven endogamous sub-castes. According to the Mirzapur enumeration these are,—Magahiya; Bânsphor; Litta; Domra or Domahra; Jallâd or Hatyâra; Dharkâr; and Harchanni; which last take their name from the famous Râja Harischandra, whose legend is given

in connection with the Bhangis. Again, in Bânda, we have a list of so-called exogamous sections or gotras inasmuch as they will not give a bride to a section from which within memory they have taken a bride. These sections are Tarkiya; Gepar; Gemar or Gaymar; Pesadeli, Barhel; Hazâriya; Usarbarsa; Kundahor; Dharkâl or Dharkâr; Chamrel; Chureliya; Satchuliha; Samand; Asrent; Mahtama; Naharkârei; Mungariya; Nanet; Kaithel; Suador; Jugin; Nagarband; Dhaunsiya; Birha; Sarkhiya; Baksariya; Gujariya; Lungtaya or Langotiya. Some of these names probably denote some connection with other tribes, as the Chamrel with Chamârs, Kaithel with Kâyasths, and Gujariya with Gûjrat. Others are perhaps occupational or totemistic; but we know at present too little of the origin or metamorphosis of these section names to make any speculations as to their meaning of any value.

8. From Gorakhpur, again, we have another enumeration which is thus described by Mr. J. Kennedy:—"The Doms say that they formerly cultivated and owned the land, but when pressure came the Magahiyas divided into two great sub-divisions—the Magahiyas and the Bânsphors. The Magahiyas took to thieving, while the Bânsphors were content to weave baskets and cultivate what land they could. These two sub-divisions do not intermarry, and it must be remembered that my notes relate to the thieving class alone, Magahiyas proper, who count themselves the true, original stock. They always describe themselves as subdivided into seven distinct families; but excluding the Bânsphors, of whom I have spoken, there are really six—Sâwant; Balgai; Chaudhari; Chauhân; Bihâri, and Hazâri. The most of these names are taken from the Hindus, and as Hazâri is a Muhammadan title of honour, this division into families is probably of a comparatively recent date. Chaudhari and Chauhân are evidently also meant as honorific titles, and at the time the division was first made it must have been purely artificial. The families have no recollection of any common ancestor, nor have they any cult in memory of the founder. The Bânsphors, I am told, have no such sub-divisions. The recent and artificial origin of the six sub-divisions is, therefore, tolerably certain; they are imitations of Hinduism, and the only use to which they are put is to regulate marriage. Neither Magahiyas nor Bânsphors can marry their first cousins by blood, and this was probably the original rule. Besides this no Sâwant can marry a Sâwant or a Balgai, but any of the six families can intermarry with any other. The

wandering gangs of Magahiyas are composed indiscriminately of men belonging to each clan family; but each gang has its own leader and the office is hereditary in the leader's family. An outsider is never selected unless the family stock has failed." At the same time it may be urged that this form of sectional exogamy is probably much more primitive than Mr. Kennedy is disposed to believe. It is, of course, possible that the names of the exogamous sections may have been changed under Hindu or Muhammadan influence, but it seems also certain that this form of exogamy is one of the primitive institutions of the caste.

9. The Magahiya Doms take their name from the ancient kingdom of Magadha or South Bihâr. Curiously enough the Mirzapur Magahiyas have lost all traditions of any connection with Magadha, and say that their name means "vagrant" from the Hindi *mag*, Sanskrit *marga*, "a road." They have been identified with the Maccocalingae of Pliny,[1] and they are found as far south as Madras.[2] In their original state the Magahiyas are vagrants pure and simple, who have not even mats or tents to cover themselves in rainy or cold weather. In this respect they are in a lower grade than nomads like the Sânsyas or Hâbûras. They frequent the jungles, but seem to have no aptitude for hunting or fishing. They live by burglary and theft, while the women prostitute themselves. In dry weather they sleep under trees, and in the rains or chill of winter they slink into outhouses or crouch under a thatch or any other shelter they can find. In their depredations they never use the *sabari* or "jemmy" used by the ordinary Indian burglar. Their characteristic weapon is the curved knife (*bânka*), with which they are supposed to split the bamboo for making baskets, which with begging are their ostensible occupations. But this knife is generally used for making holes beside doorposts (*baghli*). In cold weather they carry about at night an earthen pot full of hot coals, over which they crouch and warm themselves; and this, when closely beset, they fling with great accuracy at their assailants, often causing severe wounds.

10. Various attempts have been made to reform this branch of the tribe. To quote a note by Mr. D. T. Roberts, prepared for the last Police Commission:—"In Gorakhpur almost every scheme pos-

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[1] McCrindle, *Indian Antiquary*, VI, 337.
[2] Mullaly, *Notes*, 70, *sqq*.

sible to think of has been considered over and over again and rejected as hopeless, the prevailing opinion being that nothing short of confinement between four walls would do any good. In 1873, and again in 1880, the question of bringing them under the Criminal Tribes Act was considered, and the conclusion come to in 1880 was that no special measures for the reclamation of this tribe seem likely to be successful, and there was no use proclaiming them under the Act, because they have no means of earning their livelihood honestly, and the only thing to be done was to keep them under unceasing surveillance, and to punish with severity on commission of crime.

11. "In 1884, Mr. Kennedy, the Magistrate of Gorakhpur, again applied himself to the task. Some of the Doms were collected in the city and employed as sweepers, taught brick-making, and made to work on the roads, and others were settled in larger or smaller groups in different villages, and received assignments of land, and up to date this scheme, supported by an annual grant of Rs. 1,500, is being carried on. Some Doms do regular work as sweepers; none of them have as yet acquired any handicraft, even the simple one of brick-making. No work can be got out of them except under incessant supervision. Their fields are cultivated only when some one is standing over them, and when assistance is rendered by other cultivators.

12. "Nevertheless, on a comparison of the earlier with the later reports, a certain advance is observable. The Doms no longer skulk in fields and forests. They are all settled in some village or another which they recognise as their home. Whereas formerly Doms said that they could not sleep under a roof because ghosts troubled them, they now take kindly enough to living in houses, and will complain, not of ghosts, but of the roof leaking. It is something to have restrained their wandering propensities to this extent, and to have given them some appreciation of a settled and civilised life."

Eastern Doms; tribal traditions.

13. According to one story Mahâdeva and Pârvati invited all the castes to a feast. Supach Bhagat, the ancestor of the tribe, came late; and being very hungry ate the leavings of the others. Since that time they have been degraded, and eat the leavings of the other people.

14. Another legend connects them with Râja Râmchandra, in whose camp one of their ancestors committed theft; hence the deity cursed them with a life of begging and stealing.

15. A third legend tells that once upon a time the gods held a council for the distribution of the nectar among themselves. A demon came and stole some of the nectar and was detected by Vishnu, who severed his head from his body; but as the demon had eaten the nectar he had become immortal, the two pieces of his body became the demons, Râhu and Ketu, who periodically devour the moon and cause eclipses. As the Doms, who worship these demons are able to induce them to release the moon, pious people give alms to this caste at eclipses in order to secure their good offices to release the moon.

16. By another story Râmchandra once blessed Supach Bhagat, and said that if any one were cremated with fire, received from him or any of his descendants he would go straight to heaven. Since then the descendants of Supach Bhagat supply fire at cremation grounds.

17. Lastly, a story explains the hatred of the Magahiya Doms for Dhobis. Supach Bhagat once put up at the house of a Dhobi who, when he was drunk, fed his guest on the dung of his ass. Supach Bhagat cursed him and his kin for ever, and since that time no Dom will touch an ass or a Dhobi. In the Bihâr form of the legend, as told by Mr. Risley, Supach Bhagat had a quarrel with a Dhobi and killed and ate his ass. He subsequently cursed the Dhobi. Mr. Risley suggests that the legend may perhaps be a distorted version of some primitive taboo in which Dhobis and donkeys somehow played a part, but it is perhaps equally possible that the story may have been invented to explain why the general Hindu taboo against the Dhobi and his ass is followed by a caste so little scrupulous as the Doms.

The Bânsphor Doms.

18. The Bânsphor branch of the Eastern Doms forms the subject of a special article, and they need not be discussed more specially here.

The Litta Doms.

19. The Litta branch of the Doms are said to derive their name from some word which means "wanderer." They may perhaps be connected with the Let sub-caste of the Bengal Bâgdis, who are probably akin to the Doms. These people have no home and live by begging.

The Domra branch of the Eastern Doms.

20. The term Domra or Domahra, which is applied to the whole tribe, is also apparently sometimes used in the more restricted sense as designating those Doms who supply fire at cremation grounds.

21. The term Jallâd, which is an Arabic term for "a public flogger," and Hatyâra (Sans. *hatya*, "murder") is more specially applied to those Doms who are employed in cities to kill ownerless dogs and to act as public executioners.

The Jallâd or Hatyâra branch of the Eastern Doms.

22. The Dharkâr branch of the Eastern Doms has been treated of in a separate article.

The Dharkâr branch of the Eastern Doms.

23. The Harchanni branch of the Eastern Doms claim their name and descent from the celebrated Râja Harischandra who, as told in connection with the Bhangis, gave away all his wealth in charity and was reduced to become the slave of a Dom. In return for the kindness of his master the Râja converted the whole tribe to his religion, which they followed ever since.

The Harchanni branch of the Eastern Doms.

24. Writing of the Magahiyas of Gorakhpur Mr. Kennedy says:—"All disputes are settled by the panchâyat, but the longest term of exclusion from the brotherhood is twelve years. During that period no companionship can be held with the outlaw even in a theft. Outlawry is, however, redeemable by a fine and feast. The abduction of a Domra girl by force and the introduction of foreign women into the camp are a frequent cause of panchâyats. I am told that murder of any human being or of a cow is also severely punished; but this is about the boundary line of Domra morality with regard to outsiders. Strangers are occasionally adopted by the Magahiyas. Two or three Chamârs, a Muhammadan, an Ahîr, and a Teli, who had turned Domras, were lately among the inmates of the jail. It is the women who chiefly attract these recruits." Another frequent cause of meetings of the Domra council is interference with the begging beat of one camp. These beats are carefully recognised, and are sometimes given as a dowry at marriage. Any strange Domra who begs or steals in the beat of another is liable to excommunication, and the Domra of that beat will have no hesitation in giving up to the Police a stranger of the tribe who steals within his jurisdiction.

The tribal council of the Eastern Doms.

25. Among the Doms of Mirzapur the endogamous sub-castes have exogamous sections, some of which are territorial or titular, and some apparently totemistic; but no Dom can give even an approximately correct list of his sections. If he is asked all he says is,—"The Panch

Marriage rules.

know." This rule of exogamy is reinforced by the prohibition of marriage in the family of the maternal uncle, the father's sister, or their own sisters, as long as there is any remembrance of relationship, which is usually about three or perhaps four generations. Polygamy is prohibited except the first wife be barren, in which case a man, with the previous sanction of the council, may take a second wife. But there seems no restriction in regard to concubinage. Sahây, the famous Dom executioner at Gorakhpur, used to keep four women. In Mirzapur if an unmarried girl is detected in an intrigue with a member of the tribe, her lover has to pay a fine of five rupees and a sheet to her father, and he then takes her over as his recognised wife with the sanction of the council. They practise adult marriage, the usual age for the marriage of a girl being eleven or twelve. The marriage is arranged by the Chharidâr or "wandsman," who is the assistant of the Chaudhari or headman. The consent of the parents is said to be necessary, but runaway matches appear not to be uncommon. The bride-price among the settled Doms of Mirzapur is five rupees, five *sers* of treacle, a sheet, five lumps of tobacco, and five packets of betel leaf. The persons of both bride and bridegroom are carefully examined, and any physical defects which may subsequently appear are not sufficient grounds for annulling the marriage. After betrothal if the bride's friends refuse to make her over they are obliged to refund the bride-price, and if the man fail to perform the engagement he is severely punished by the council. Divorce is allowed when habitual adultery is proved to the satisfaction of the council, but, as a rule, only the direct evidence of eye-witnesses is considered sufficient. Divorced women can marry again by the lower or *Sagâi* form. Bastard children follow the caste of the father; but a man who intrigues with a woman not a member of the tribe, if the union has not been recognised, must pay a fine of two-and-a-half rupees and give a feast of pork and rice to the clansmen. Widows can marry by the *Sagâi* form, and are generally married to widowers. The bridegroom has to make over eight rupees and one hundred cakes (*pûri*) to the father of the woman. He then gives a feast to the clansmen, in the course of which the relatives of the deceased husband come forward and claim the woman. Then the assembled clansmen direct the woman's father to make over the compensation he has received to the relatives of her first husband. When this is done the man takes the woman

home, puts red lead on the parting of her hair and palm leaf ornaments (*tarki*) in her ears. After he does this and feeds the clansmen on rice and pork the marriage is considered valid.

The levirate under the usual restrictions is admitted; but there is no fiction that the children of the levir are attributed to the deceased brother. Adoption is, of course, unusual; but if a man adopts, he generally adopts the son of his brother.

26. In Gorakhpur it appears that the bride-price is always spent on the marriage, and it is alleged that if either party after marriage become blind, crippled, or leprous, the marriage may be annulled.

Eastern Doms: birth ceremonies.

27. Among the Doms of Mirzapur the mother is attended by the Chamârin midwife and the ceremonies of purification common to the menial castes are performed. On the twelfth day after birth the hair of the baby is shaved to remove that last taint of the birth pollution. The child is named by the senior man in the family a year after birth. When a man's children have died in succession the next baby is sold to some one for a nominal sum; and then is called Pachkauri, Chhakauri, "he that was sold for five or six cowries," or by some other opprobrious epithet. In Gorakhpur the services of the Chamârin midwife are dispensed with on the sixth day.

The Barahi or twelfth-day ceremony is done on the tenth day. The mother and child are bathed; her hair is smeared with vermilion, and the relatives are feasted, then a little liquor is sprinkled over the woman, and after that she is considered pure.

28. Of the Magahiyas of Gorakhpur Mr. Kennedy writes:—"The birth of a Domra is always celebrated by a sacrifice to Gandak and Samaiya. Marriages are contracted when the boy is about ten years old. The matter is settled by a go-between. The boy's father pays for the marriage feast and gives presents to the father of the girl; but the Magahiyas deny that there is any idea of purchase. No religious ceremony accompanies the marriage. A panchâyat is assembled, a feast held, and the girl henceforth resides with her father-in-law. A man is not restricted in the number of his wives, and concubinage is also permitted, but the concubine is held in somewhat less esteem than the wife. A woman is apparently allowed to leave her husband and transfer herself to another; but in that case she becomes a concubine. The panchâyat will not restore a wife who has decamped, but they will give back any property she took away. The frequent residence of the Magahiyas in

jail often obliges women to transfer themselves to other husbands for support, and makes polygamy advantageous. Polyandry is unknown."

Marriage ceremonies: Eastern Doms.

29. In Mirzapur the marriage is arranged by the sister's husband of the boy's father. The betrothal (*barrekhi*) is done in the usual way by the interchange of two leaf platters full of liquor, into one of which the boy's father puts a couple of rupees, which he passes on to the representative of the bride. They have the ordinary *matmangara* ceremony, with the difference that the lucky earth brought from the village claypit is used for constructing a large fireplace with a single opening on which the women of the family cook a mess of rice and pulse, which is placed on a leaf mat in the place where the marriage is performed. This is an offering to the Manes, and the phrase used is *pitr charhâna*. The usual anointing of bride and bridegroom follows, which is begun by the two fathers, who sprinkle a little turmeric and oil on the ground and invoke the sainted dead to assist them in bringing the marriage to a successful conclusion. It is a peculiarity of the tribe that both men and women join in the marriage procession. No Brâhman is employed. The boy's father repeats the names of his ancestors for five generations, and the father of the bride does the same for her. Then the pair are seated close together on a mat made of leaves. The husband of the sister of the bride's father drops water on her hands and says:—"*Bar kanya chiranjîva rahen*"—"May the bride and bridegroom live long." This is done five times. The prominent part taken by the sister's husband is possibly a survival of the matriarchate. Then the garments of the pair are knotted together, and they walk round a branch of the cotton tree (*semal*), planted in the middle of the company, five times. After this the boy puts red lead on the parting of the bride's hair, and this constitutes the binding part of the ceremony. They then go into a retiring room (*kohabar*) or behind some bushes close by, and there a good deal of coarse merriment goes on—an obvious survival of the habit of immediate consummation of the marriage. Besides this, the respectable form of marriage among the settled Doms, which is known as *charhauwa*, there is another form called *gurâwat*, where two persons exchange sisters, and a still lower form of the *dola* type, where the girl is merely taken by her father to the house of her husband and lives with him as his wife after a dinner has been given to the brethren,

The temporary connections of women whose husbands are in jail with other men are also fully recognised. In addition to this almost any kind of runaway match is allowed; in fact it would be hard to say what form of sexual intercourse is not recognised as a marriage.

Death ceremonies: Eastern Doms.

30. "According to Dr. Wise it is universally believed in Bengal that Doms do not burn or bury their dead, but dismember the corpse at night, like the inhabitants of Tibet, placing the pieces in a pot and sinking them in the nearest river or reservoir. This horrid idea probably arose from the old Hindu law which compelled the Doms to bury their dead at night."[1] This idea does not seem to prevail in these Provinces. The Doms appear to have no settled usage as regards the disposal of the corpse. Those who are fairly well off cremate the corpse, but unlike Hindus, take with them from the house the fire which is applied to the pyre. The poorer and vagrant Doms either bury, or sometimes cremate in a very rude and perfunctory way, or, when it is more convenient, throw the corpse into running water. Bodies of unmarried children are always thrown into a river or buried. The Magahiya Doms of Gorakhpur often leave the body in the jungle. Among the settled Doms of Mirzapur after a cremation they return to the house of the deceased, light a little oil in the courtyard and warm their feet in the smoke, the object apparently being to bar the return of the ghost. Some of them, once the corpse is burnt, do not take any trouble about the ashes, but leave them where the cremation took place. Others who are more scrupulous collect them on the third day and throw them into a neighbouring stream. Then they fix upon the bank a few blades of grass as a refuge for the wandering spirit, on which a little water is poured daily. Others lay out a little platter of food for the use of the departed during the days of mourning. On the tenth day they assemble at a tank, shave themselves, bathe, and offer three balls (*pinda*) of flour. At these ceremonies the sister's husband of the chief mourner officiates as priest. This seems to be another survival of the matriarchate. The same rule applies in the Bihâr branch of the tribe:—"The son of a deceased man's sister or of his female cousin officiates as priest at his funeral and recites appropriate texts (*mantra*) receiving a fee

[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I, 248.

for his services when the inheritance comes to be divided. Some Doms, indeed, assured me that the sister's son used formerly to get a share of the property, and that this rule had only recently fallen into disuse; but their statements did not seem to be definite enough to carry entire conviction, and I have met with no corroborative evidence bearing on the point. So also in marriage the sister's son or occasionally the sister (*sudsin*) repeats *mantras* and acts generally as priest. Failing either of these the head of the household officiates. No other indications of an extinct custom of female kinship appear to exist, and the fact that in Western Bengal the eldest son gets an extra share on the division of an inheritance seems to show that kinship by males must have been in force for a very long time past."[1]

Religion: Eastern Doms.

31. The religious practices of the tribe vary with the social status of the sub-castes, and there is no standard type of worship because they are not controlled by Brâhmans. Of the Magahiya Doms of Gorakhpur Mr. Kennedy writes:—"The Magahiya Domras have two special divinities of their own; the chief is Gandak, whose grave is to be found at Karmaini Garhi, two days' journey to the east of Motihârî, in Bengal. According to their traditions Gandak was hanged for theft a long time ago, and when dying he promised always to help the Magahiyas in trouble. He is worshipped by the whole tribe and is invoked on all important occasions; but he is pre-eminently the patron god of thefts. A successful theft is always celebrated by a sacrifice and feast in his honour. They also worship Samaiya, a female divinity. She is without any special history, and there is no sharp distinction between her sphere and Gandak's. Her functions apparently relate chiefly to birth and illness, etc.

32. "The Magahiyas sacrifice young pigs and wine with sugar and spices to these two deities. Every Magahiya is capable of performing the sacrifice, and the remains are divided among the company, when a vow is made to Samaiya, *e.g.*, on the birth of a child or when it is teething, or on the occasion of an illness a special pig is chosen and devoted to her, and is sacrificed in the fulfilment of the vow. The Magahiyas have neither altars nor idols, nor do they erect any platform (*chabûtra*) for worship. A spot is cleared

[1] Risley, *loc cit.*

and plastered in the middle of a field, and the sacrifice is then offered.

33. "The Magahiyas naturally believe in ghosts and spirits. When a man dies, my informant told me, he turns into an evil spirit (*shaitân*). The godlings (*deota*) also, he added, were innumerable. In most villages of this district there is a special altar for all the local ghosts and deities, which may reside within the village boundaries, and the Magahiyas are always ready to share in the sacrifices of the villagers to them. They also reverence trees and platforms consecrated by Hindus in passing, but pay no further homage. They acknowledge the village Kâli and sometimes sacrifice to her; but the sacrifices do not differ from those of the Hindus. They do not acknowledge Mahâdeva or any other divinity, but they share the general Hindu belief in Parameswar, the giver and destroyer of life and the author of good and evil. He created the Magahiyas, they say, and ordered them to be filth and outcasts among the Hindus. They somehow resort to a Brâhman for the reading of the Vedas (*katha*). My informant had given a *katha* in this way on the last occasion of his release from jail. In these cases the Magahiyas go to the Brâhman's house, but I could not find any other trace of special reverence for the Brâhmans, nor have they any necessity for them."

34. In Mirzapur Doms of the better class worship Bhawâni, to whom at the Naurâtra of Chait they make an offering of hogs, cakes (*pûri*), gruel (*lapsi*), and wreaths of flowers. The Bhawâni, if appeased, keeps off illness from her votaries. They have a vague idea of an all-powerful deity, Parameswar, who punishes the guilty, and of a hell, but what it is and how sinners are punished they know not. The scavenger Doms, like the Jallâd, have a special female deity called Kukarmari, "the killer of dogs," to whom a sacrifice of a young pig and some spirits is offered outside the village as a propitiation for the death of these animals. In the same way when a Dom hangman is tying the rope round the neck of a criminal, he shouts out *Dohâi Mahârâni, Dohâi Sarkâr, Dohâi Judge Sahib.* "Help O great Queen! Help O Government! Help Mr. Judge!" in order to free himself from any guilt attaching to the death. They worship the collective local gods (*deohâr*) at marriages; but the wandering, vagrant habits of the tribe prevent them possessing any real respect for the village deities. Women have no worship special to themselves. On the last day of the first

fortnight of Kuâr they make ten lumps (*pinda*) of flour and throw them into a river, and when they come home they put some cakes and sweetened rice on a leaf-platter, and lay it in a field to propitiate the dead. Some fast on Sunday in the name of the Sun god Sûraj Nârâyan, but these practises prevail only among the more Hinduised Doms in the neighbourhood of towns.

35. In Gorakhpur, besides the worship described above, they also venerate their Guru who is said to have had his head-quarters at Bhojpur, in the Ballia District, and to his shrine they make occasional pilgrimages and make an offering of a pig at least four years old, wine, and flowers. To a goddess named Juthaiya Bhawâni, of whose functions they can give no account, they offer a young pig and some red lead, with a lock of their hair, a forehead spangle, and a cake of flour boiled with pulse.

Demonology.

36. Their demonology is much of the usual type common to the lower castes by whom they are surrounded. They believe that trees are inhabited by evil spirits, and unless they bow down to trees of this kind, their ghosts revenge themselves by bringing disease and death upon them. To such malignant ghosts they offer a young pig, which is eaten by the worshippers. In Mirzapur the chief Dom festivals are the Kajari and Phagua or Holi. At the Kajari in the month of Sâwan they get drunk, dance, and sing. It is the regular woman's saturnalia, and on this occasion gross sexual license is tolerated. At the Phagua or Holi the same is the case. In Gorakhpur, besides the Holi, they observe the Jiutiya on the eighth of the dark half of Kuâr, and the Khichari on the day the sun enters the sign of Makar. On the Jiutiya the women fast in order to ensure long life to their husbands, and the Khichari they beg boiled rice and pulse from door to door.

37. The Eastern Doms are particularly afraid of the ghosts of drowned people who are called Bûrna (*bûrna* "to be drowned"). These malignant ghosts drag under the water and drown boys who bathe in tanks and rivers infested by them.[1] Fields are in charge of Mari Masân, the deity which haunts cremation grounds, and Kukarmari, the dog goddess, already mentioned. They are ever in dread of the ghosts of the dead, which torment them in dreams if not propitiated with an annual sacrifice. If neglected

[1] On this see Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I 109.

they appear in their original shapes and demand a sacrifice. Women are tattooed on the arms, wrists, breasts, and cheeks. If a woman not tattooed attempt to enter heaven the gate-keeper of Parameswar pitches her down to the earth again. They have the usual omens of meeting. Many of their women, as in the case of all solitary and uncanny races such as they are, are said to practise witchcraft. One way such persons acquire influence over a man is by throwing a cowry shell at him. They believe firmly in the Evil Eye. When children have been overlooked and pine away, the cure is to wave some garlic and pepper pods round the child's head on a Tuesday or Sunday, and then to throw them into the fire. The evil influence is supposed to pass away with the filthy smoke.

Occupations and social position of the Eastern Doms.

38. The occupation and social position of the Eastern Doms differ much according to the sub-castes. One duty of the ordinary Dom is to supply fire for cremation. Mr. Sherring[1] describes the custom at Benares as follows:—"On the arrival of the dead body at the place of cremation, which in Benares is at the base of one of the steep stairs (*ghât*) called the Burning Ghât, leading down from the streets above to the bed of the River Ganges, the Dom supplies five logs of wood, which he lays in order upon the ground, the rest of the wood being given by the family of the deceased. When the pile is ready for burning, a handful of lighted fire is brought by the Dom, and applied by one of the chief members of the family to the wood. The Dom is the only person who can furnish the light for this purpose; and if, from any circumstance, the services of one cannot be obtained, great delay and inconvenience are apt to occur. The Dom exacts his fee for three things, namely, first, for the five logs, secondly, for the bunch of straw, and thirdly, for the light." There is no fixed fee, and as the Dom naturally makes the best of his position and raises his demands according to the position and wealth of his customers, this class of Dom, who is known as Kâshiwâla or "he of Benares," has a bad reputation for insolence and extortion.

39. From his business and environment the Dom is, of course, regarded by all respectable Hindus with contempt, fear, and abhorence. No one will touch food or water from his hands. The Magahiya Dom of Gorakhpur will eat anything except the flesh

[1] *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I, 401.

of the monkey, serpent, and lizard. Mr. Kennedy says that they eat most things, including carrion; but certain animals, beasts of prey, cats, and dogs, etc., they will not eat. In Mirzapur I have seen them squabbling over the carcass of a dead horse in an obvious condition of advanced decomposition. They are always on the look out for tiger flesh, but they say that they stew it down more than once, as it is very heating. They will, as already stated, refuse the leavings of a Dhobi, and to this the more settled Doms of Mirzapur add those of the Hela, Musahar, and Chamâr. Doms who have adopted more cleanly occupations than their vagrant and scavenger brethren, such as basket-making, are naturally becoming more Hinduised and more careful in matters of diet. Those Doms who have settled down, like the Bânsphor and the Dharkâr, to working in cane, and the Jallâd to scavenging and acting as public executioners, are fairly respectable, industrious people. Those who work in cane use a peculiar curved knife known as *bânki*. They make fans (*bena*), baskets, (*dauri*), boxes (*petâra*), scales (*tarâzu*), winnowing fans (*sûp*), lampstands (*dîwat*), irrigation baskets (*dala*), and betel boxes (*belhara*). These workers in cane are known in cities by the Persian title of Bedbâf[1] (Pers. *bed*, "cane;" *bâftan* "to weave"). They split the cane into eight strips (*târ*), with an instrument (*taraunthi*) like a lemon-slicer. The outside cuttings he sells to bakers for making the mould (*sâncha*) used for applying cakes to the walls of the ovens. The Bedbâf weaves the backs and seats of chairs and makes baskets, etc. The Bânsphor makes baskets, but works only in bamboo. He splits the bamboo into strips (*patta*), which are soaked and woven into baskets. The allied people known as Kori Chhapparband make door-screens (*chiq, tatti*) and thatches (*chhappar*). They work in bamboos and the reed grass known as *sentha* (*saccharum sara*). The Parchhatti and Gudariya make stools (*mondha*), and the Dharkâr fine furniture, fine door-screens, baskets, fans, etc., from bamboo, but he works in bamboo and they in reed.

40. Of the Gorakhpur Magahiyas Mr. Kennedy writes:—"They eat cow's flesh readily, but they will not kill the cow. They also offer milk, like Hindus, to snakes at the Nâgpanchami, but have no reverence for tigers or other animals. They express some reverence for the great rivers, Ganga and Nârâyani, etc. This, I

[1] For a good account of this industry, see Hoey, *Monograph on Trades*, 72.

think, nearly marks the extent to which they have been Hinduised. The *pîpal* is the only sacred tree, and no Magahiya will pluck its leaves. They hold this superstition so firmly that I suspect it is aboriginal. No reverence is paid to the banyan or any other sacred Hindu tree or plant. They have a special superstition about iron, and will not use it for certain purposes. A Magahiya who commits burglary with an iron instrument will not only be excluded from the brotherhood, but his eyes will some day start out of his head. Their most solemn oath is celebrated after the following fashion: A piece of ground is cleared and plastered as if for sacrifice. A piece of iron, a dish of water, some leaves of the pîpal, and a particular kind of Tarâi grass with some lighted charcoal are all put separately on the ground. On the top a pice is placed, and the oath is taken over it. An oath by the Dhobi is also particularly binding."

Other oaths of the Eastern Doms are on the altar of the deities they worship, on a *pîpal* leaf, on a knife stuck in the ground, with the fingers of the right hand resting on a vessel full of spirits, or with some cow-dung fixed on the horn of a dead cow. They use none of the ordinary forms of salutation, but simply join their hands as a mark of respect.

The Doms of the Himalayas.

41. The Doms of Kumaun have been thought to be akin to the aboriginal Râjis; but the latter repudiate the idea and profess the very greatest contempt for the Doms; so that if one of that class enter the dwelling of a Râji, the place must be purified with water brought from twenty-two different sources. They are supposed to be the relics of the original inhabitants of the country, corresponding to the Dhiyar or ore-smelters of Jammu, the Bâtal of the Kashmîr Valley, the Bem of Ladâkh, the Newâr of Nepâl. In Garhwâl they appear to have been enslaved by the immigrant Khasiyas. Under the name of Dûm they are described in Jammu[1] as "dark in colour, small in limb, and their countenance is of a much lower type than that of the Dogras generally, though one sees exceptions, due no doubt to an admixture of blood, for, curiously, the separation of them from the daily life of the others does not prevent an occasional intercourse that tends in some degree to assimilate the races." In the Himalayan Dis-

[1] Drew's *Jammu*, 56.

tricts of these Provinces the Dom has been recognised as a descendant of the Dasyus of the Veda, who are supposed to have held Upper India before the advent of the Nâga or Khasa race.

Sub-castes of the Himalayan Doms.

42. The complete Census Returns show as the main sections of the Hill Doms the Auji, Badhai, Bera, Baroda, Chamâr, Chunara, Darzi, Das, Dhaki, Dhobi, Dholi, Dhunâr, Kamar, Koli, Lohâr, Mochi, Nâth, Pahariya, Sahiya, Tamoli, Tamta, and Teli, most of which are occupational. In Garhwâl, according to Mr. Atkinson,[1] they are divided in popular estimation into four classes. To the first belong the Kolis, Tamotas, Lohârs, Orhs, and Dhârhis. The Kolis weave cloth, keep pigs and fowls, and are agricultural labourers. The Tamotas or Tamtas represent the Thatheras of the plains, and are workers in brass and copper. The Lohârs are workers in iron. The Orhs comprise both masons and carpenters. Dhârhis, though socially ranked with Doms, do not belong to them, for they properly include only those Khasiyas who have been put out of caste for some offence, and their offspring form a new caste with the addition of the fresh avocation. To the second class belong the Bhûls, Chunyârs, Ruriyas, Agaris, and Pahris. The Bhûls represent the Telis of the plains, but also do field work. They are also called Bâryas. The Chunyâras are turners, and make wooden vessels and the bottoms of *huqqas*. The Ruriyas make various kinds of bamboo baskets and sieves. The Agaris are iron smelters, and must be carefully discriminated from the Dravidian Agariyas of Mirzapur. They are Doms attached to the service of the mines by the former Râjas, but are gradually exchanging a very ill-paid and dangerous avocation for that of road-making and other profitable work. The Pahris are village messengers, and are the same as the Chamâr village watchmen of the plains. To the third class belong the Mallâhs, Daryas, and Chamârs. The Mallâhs are also called Dhunârs, and are for the most part engaged in agriculture. The Daryas are village sorcerers, and conjure away hailstorms and the like, for which service they receive annual dues of grain. The Chamârs call themselves Bairsawa, and will never acknowledge the name of Chamâr. They sew leather and perform all the usual service duties of the Dom.

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[1] *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 277, *sq.*

43. The fourth class includes the professional beggars and vagrant musicians of the Hills—the Bâdi, Hurkiya, Darzi, and Dholi. The Bâdi is the village musician; in the plains he is considered to be a Nat. He plays on various instruments and sings at festivals. He goes from village to village begging from door to door, and belongs to the class of sturdy beggars who, if they do not get what they expect, lampoon the people of the house and abuse them. For these reasons they are, to some extent, feared, and are able to maintain themselves at the expense of their neighbours. They also snare fowl and fish. The Hurkiya are so called from the small double drum (*huruk, huruka*) shaped like an hourglass which he carries. This is an archaic musical instrument like the *damaru*, which is one of Siva's emblems. They never take to agriculture, and wander about with their women, who dance and sing. The Darzi, also called Auji and Suji, lives by tailoring, though often solely by agriculture. To the Darzi class belongs the Dholi so called from beating the drum (*dholak*). This is done by way of incantation to cause sprites and ghosts to enter or leave the person of any one, and so induce that person to give money to the performer. The Dârya, Bâdi, Hurkiya, and Dholi are all Doms, and "are in the hills the recognised priests of the malignant spirits of the hill and glen, whose aid is always sought after before anything serious is undertaken or any difficult task is attempted. It is the Doms who preserve to the present day the pure demonism of the aborigines, while the Khasiyas temper it with the worship of the village deities, the named and localised divine entities, and furnish from their ranks the priests. Most of the Barhais belong to the Orh division of the Doms, and the Chunapaz or lime-burners belong to the Agari and Lohâr branches of the Doms. Finally there is a class known as Domjogi, who are beggars. The portion of the village site assigned to Doms is in the hills known as Domaura or Domtola, like the Chamrauti where the Chamârs of the plains congregate."

44. Most of these divisions of the Doms of the hills are thus purely occupational, and, as might have been expected, the enumeration varies. Thus Pandit Juâla Dat Joshi writing of the Doms of Kumaun says that Doms usually do not use the term Dom in speaking of themselves, but call themselves Bairsawa, or Tallijâti or Bâharjâti, "outcasts," or they call themselves by their occupation Orh, Lohâr, and so on. He enumerates the

Kumaun Doms under the heads of Sarki Dotiwâla, who work in leather; Tamta, workers in brass; Lohâr, workers in iron; Orh and Bârele masons; Tirua, who do tinning and making of horse shoes; Bhûl, oilmen; Mochi, workers in leather; Koli, cloth-weavers; Bâruri, makers of bamboo baskets, Dhuni, Dhuni Dom, and ordinary Doms who are said to be a mixed race of men from the plains and ordinary Hill Doms who work as ploughmen and day labourers; Dholi, who play on drums at festivals; Hurkiya, who play and sing and prostitute their women; Chamâr, who skin animals; Bâdi, who play on drums and work as tailors. He adds that the reason of the increase of this caste is that they admit outcasts from the superior tribes. The Baura are separate from the Dom, and say that they were originally Jâts.

According to the same authority, the Orh, Tamta, Lohâr, Bârê, Bhûl, Tirua, Mochi, Dhuni, Koli, and Bâruri are exogamous, but as they advance in wealth, they show a tendency to break up into endogamous groups. The Chamâr, Dholi, Bâdi, and Hurkiya are endogamous, and will eat *kachchi* and *pakki* only from members of their own sub-caste. Their rule of exogamy is simply that the recognised descendants of one common ancestor will not intermarry. Some of them, as they are becoming more Hinduised, have adopted the rule of not intermarrying within five generations on the side of the mother and seven on the side of the father. They can marry as many wives as they please, of whom the youngest and best-looking is regarded as head. He says that the Doms do not prostitute their women before marriage; but that among the Bhotiyas it used to be the habit for young men and girls to meet in a special house in the village, where, after drinking, each youth selected a girl and cohabited with her in perfect freedom. The custom is now disappearing. We have here a good example of that form of promiscuity before marriage, of which Dr. Westermarck has collected numerous instances.[1]

46. Girls, he goes on to say, are married between the age of eight or ten. When the parties are of that age, their relatives arrange the marriage for them; but when a girl has passed the age of puberty she may choose a husband for herself. There are two recognised forms of marriage, the superior, in which the father of the bride gives her away with a dowry, and the less respectable

[1] *History of Human Marriage*, 14.

form in which the relatives of the bridegroom pay one-third of the expenses of the marriage.

47. They put away a woman when she is attacked with leprosy, becomes a lunatic or loses caste. A divorced woman, provided she has not been divorced on account of disease, may be taken on as a concubine, but she cannot be married again by any of the regular forms. The levirate and widow-marriage are recognised, and the children of a widow regularly married and of a widow rank equally; but the children of a concubine hold a lower rank, as they cannot join in the worship of deceased ancestors. A widow taken over by a man is known as *rakhui*, and it is said to be the custom for widows not to live with a man unless they have no one to support them.

Domestic ceremonies: Himalayan Doms.

48. When a woman comes to the seventh month of pregnancy she is forbidden to cook for her family or to perform the domestic worship. When the child is born, a lump of coarse sugar is distributed to those present; the child is bathed, and red powder (*rori*) applied to its head and to that of the mother and all the women of the house. For eleven days the male members of the family are considered impure. In the case of the birth of twins, they perform a propitiatory ceremony.

49. The marriage ceremony is in the form usual among the lower castes. No Brâhman officiates, and his place is taken by the sister's son who receives a fee for his services. The binding portion of the ceremony is the feeding of the brethren.

50. They burn their dead and dispose of the ashes into a neighbouring stream. In this case also the sister's son or the son-in-law of the dead man officiates and is given a loin cloth and some money. The death impurity lasts for eleven days. At her first menstruation a girl is impure for eleven days, and only for four days at each subsequent occurrence of the menses.

Religion of the Himalayan Doms.

51. According to Mr. Atkinson,[1] "their montane and non-Brâhmanical origin is sufficiently shown by the names of the deities worshipped by them—Ganganâth, Bholanâth, Masân, Khabîsh, Goril, Kshetrpâl, Saim, Airi Kalbisht or Kaluwa, Chaumu, Badhân, Hâru, Latu, Bheliya, the Katyûri Râjas, Rûniya, Bâlchan, Kâlchan, Bhausi, Chhurmal. Ganganâth is the favourite deity of the Doms and his origin is thus accounted for. The son of Bhabichand, Râja of Doti, quarrelled

[1] *Loc cit.*, II, 319.

with his family and became a religious mendicant. In the course of his wanderings he arrived at Adoli, a village in Patti Sâlam, and there saw and fell in love with the wife of one Krishna Joshi. This Joshi was a servant at Almora, and the Jogi disguised himself and took service in the house in which the woman lived. When Krishna heard of the intrigue, he set out for Adoli, and, with the aid of one Jhaparna Lohâr, murdered his wife and her lover. Like Bholanâth and his companions, the Jogi, his mistress, and the unborn child became goblins and vexed the people so that they built a temple and instituted a regular service in honour of the three sprites. From Adoli the cult of Ganganâth spread over Kumaun, and at Takuriya Lwâli and Narai in his home patti we have temples in his honour. He is supposed especially to harass the young and beautiful, if they do not propitiate him. When any one is aggrieved by the wicked or powerful, he goes to Ganganâth for aid, who invariably punishes the evil-doer. He sometimes possesses a follower, and through him promises all that they desire to those who offer the following articles—to Ganganâth himself a kid, cakes, sweetmeats, beads, a bag and a pair of Jogi's ear rings; to his mistress Bhâna, a petticoat, a sheet, and a nose ring; and to the child a coat and amulets—altogether forming a fair spoil to the Ghantuwa or astrologer who conducts the ceremonies.

52. "The current legend regarding the origin of the local deity Bholanâth and his consort Barhini forms one of the connecting links between the Brâhmanical system of the present day and the universal hierarchy of sprites and goblins common to all mountainous countries. With the better classes Bholanâth is recognised as a form of Mahâdeva, and Barhini as a form of his Sâkti,[1] thus meeting the requirements of the popular worship and the demands of the orthodox school, but it is evident that the idea of deifying mortals is an old one, and in this case merely localised to explain the origin of a class of temples which are acknowledged not to belong to the orthodox forms of Mahâdeva. One story tells us how Uday Chand, Râja of Almora, had two queens, each of whom bore him a son. When the children arrived at man's estate, the elder of the two took to evil courses and was disinherited and left Kumaun. The younger in course of time succeeded his father as Gyân Chand, and his administration gave great satisfaction and relief to the

[1] On this see Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 180, *sqq*.

people. Gyân Chand had been some years on the throne when his elder brother returned to Almora, and took up his quarters there in the guise of a religious mendicant. In spite of his disguise several recognised the disinherited prince, and conveyed the news of his arrival to his brother Gyân Chand. He became alarmed and gave orders for the assassination of his brother which was carried out by a man of the Bariya or gardener caste. The elder prince and his pregnant mistress were both slain near the temple of Sîtala Devi. The mistress was the wife of a Brâhman, and her connection with the Chand prince was considered something more than adulterous. After death the elder brother became a *bhût*. A small iron trident is sometimes placed in the corner of a cottage as an emblem of Bholanâth, and is usually resorted to when any sudden or unexpected calamity attacks the inmates.

53. "The demon Masân is usually found at burning grounds. He is supposed to be of black colour and hideous appearance. He comes from the remains of a funeral pyre and chases people passing by who sometimes die of fright, others linger for a few days and some even go mad. When a person becomes possessed by Masân, the people invoke the beneficent spirit of the house to come and take possession of some member of the family, and all begin to dance. At length some one works himself into a state of frenzy and commences to torture and belabour the body of the person possessed by Masân, until at length a cure is effected or the patient perishes under this drastic treatment.

54. "Khabîsh resembles Masân in his malignant nature and fondness for charnel grounds. He is also met with in dark glens and forests in various shapes. Sometimes he imitates the bellow of a buffalo, or the cry of a goat-herd or neat-herd, and sometimes he grunts like a wild pig. At other times he assumes the guise of a religious mendicant and joins travellers on their way, but his conversation (like that of all the Indian *bhûts* who speak through their nose) is always unintelligible. Like Masân he often frightens people and sometimes possesses unfortunate travellers who get benighted."

55. Goril, Goriya, Gwel, Gwâll or Gol is another deified mortal of whom the legend is given by Mr. Atkinson. He was beaten out of Garhwâl by Sudarsan Sâh. The idea that a *bhût* can be driven out by beating is embodied in two well-known Hindi proverbs—*Mâr kê ôge bhût bhâgta hai*, "A thrashing makes a *bhût*

run;" and *Lâton ké bhût bâton sé nahîn mânté*, "Goblins that want kicking won't mind words."

56. Khetrpâl is the same as Bhûmiya, the protector of field and homestead, extensively worshipped in the western districts. Saim or Sayam, "the black one (Sans. *shyâma*) is another form of the same deity. He sometimes possesses people, and his sign is that the hair of the scalp-lock becomes hopelessly entangled.

57. Kalbisht or Kaluwa is said to have been a neat-herd who lived some two hundred years ago. His enemies persuaded his brother-in-law Himmat to drive a peg into the hoof of one of Kalibisht's buffaloes, intending that he should be killed in attempting to extract it, but no harm ensued. Himmat next attacked him from behind with an axe, and so wounded him on the neck that he died, but not before he had torn the treacherous Himmat limb from limb. He has now become a benevolent sprite, and his name is used by herdsmen as a charm against wild beasts, and oppressed persons resort to his temple for justice against their oppressors.

58. Chaumu is also a deified mortal and a god of cattle; so is Badhân. On the eleventh day after the birth of a calf his *linga* is washed first with water and then milk and cakes, rice and milk are offered at his temples. Hâru is the deified Haris Chandra, Râja of Champawat who built the sacred bathing place at Hardwâr. Lâtu was his brother. The Katyûri Râjas are the defied last independent Râjas of Katyûr. Rûniya is a malignant *bhût* who wanders from village to village on coursers formed of huge boulders, and at night especially exercises his noisy steeds. He attacks only females, and should any woman attract his attentions she invariably wastes away, haunted by her ghostly lover and joins him in the spirit land. Bâlchan, Kâlchan, Bhasni, and Chhurmal are malignant *bhûts* of the same kind.

59. To quote again Mr. Atkinson's excellent account of this caste—"Doms do not wear the sacred thread or the bracelet (*râkhi*) nor do they have caste marks or wear, as a rule, the top-knot (*sikha*) and in a rough way they imitate the customs of the better classes, especially those who have made money in their contracts with Government. Their offerings to deceased ancestors (*srâddha*) when made at all, are performed at the Amâwas or last day of the Kanyâgat of Kuâr. The sister's son, younger sister's husband or son-in-law act as Brâhmans on the occasion and receive gifts as

Religious and social customs of the Himalayan Doms.

such. Doms eat the flesh of all animals, use their skins, and eat food from all classes except the Bhangi, Musalmân, and Christian. There is no fixed time for marriage. When an elder brother dies the younger takes the widow to wife whether she has children or not; hence the proverb *Mal bhîr adhari ber, talai chîr men onchhi* "When the upper walls fall they come on the lower wall." When the elder brother dies, the burden falls upon the younger. The elder brother cannot, however, take to wife the widow of a deceased younger brother, and contracts a stain if even her shadow crosses his path. He transfers her to some other of the brotherhood, but if during the lifetime of her second husband he or she be dissatisfied, another may take her by paying the cost of her marriage. This may be repeated several times. The prohibited degrees are only a daughter, sister, uncle, aunt, brother, and these they cannot eat or smoke with."

60. To this may be added from the notes of Pandit Juâla Dat Joshi that their greatest oath is to place the hand on the head of their son; others say: "If I swear falsely may I eat your flesh." They also swear by placing their hands on the grain mortar (*okhli*), flour mill (*chakki*,) or on a bell. When there is a dispute about boundaries they write a curse (*bunda*) on a piece of paper and holding it on the head of a son recite the words which run as follows—"If the land in dispute be mine may I and my children enjoy it, if it be not mine may Parameswar prevent me from enjoying it." They believe in the Evil Eye and remove it by waving some mustard over the patient and then burning it near him in a pan. They fully believe in the demoniacal theory of disease, and patients are treated by an exorcisor known as Gannua. They salute one another by the term *pâlâgan*; Brahmans by the word *seva* and English and Musalmâns by *salâm*. Many of them in addition cultivate and some practise a kind of nomadic cultivation by burning down patches of jungle.

Connection between the Doms and Gypsies.

61. There seems reason to believe that some at least of the Gypsy tribes of Europe are akin to the Magahiya Doms; and a connection has been traced between their languages. Much speculation has been devoted to the term Romani, the designation of the European gypsies. According to one theory it means Roman or Roumanian. According to another "the word Rom in all the gypsy dialects of Europe has a twofold meaning signifying "man" and "husband" as well as

"gypsy." A satisfactory connection has still to be found for *it*, that connected with Râma, the incarnate Vishnu of the Hindus being discountenanced by the authority of Professor Ascoli of Milan. By a curious and unexplained coincidence the identical word Rom or Rome occurs with the meaning "man" in modern Coptic, and according to Herodotus belonged also to the language of the ancient Egyptians. Although this isolated fact in no way affects the general bearing of the question, it is worth noting as an etymological curiosity. It is not impossible that among the original elements of the Aryan mother speech may have existed a root *ro* or *rom*, expressive of power, the survival of which we can discern in the Greek *romé*, "strength," the Latin *robur*, and perhaps in the illustrious name of Rome itself." On the other hand Dr. Schrader[1] suggests that the word *robur* in the sense of "oak" is the equivalent of *arbor* "a tree." At the same time there seems some reason for believing that Romani in the sense of "a gypsy" may be connected with our Indian terms Dom and Domra.[2]

Distribution of the Doms according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Benbansi.	Dhânuk.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn .	...	...	18,438	210	18,648
Sahâranpur .	...	...	59	2,482	2,541
Muzaffarnagar .	...	...	254	2,299	2,553
Meerut . .	...	...	...	4,257	4,257
Bulandshahr .	...	...	...	5,663	5,663

[1] *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 272.

[2] *Edinburgh Review*, 1878, p. 140; Grierson, *Indian Antiquary*, XV. 14, *sq.* XVI. 35, *sqq. Encyclopædia Britannia*, 9th edition, article *Gypsies*: Leland, *Academy*, 19th June 1875.

In the life of Edward Henry Palmer by Walter Besant (p. 184), Mr. Leland writes—"Several times I interviewed, in his company in London, a native of India who had been a Rom, that is to say, a gypsy. Palmer examined the man long and closely in his native language, that is to say as a shrewd lawyer would examine a man whose assertions he wished to discredit. The result of the interview was that there is, in Palmer's opinion, one distinctive race of gypsies, who call themselves Rom, who speak a language which is not identical with any Indian tongue, though much like Panjâbi, but which is identical with Romany. The man assured me subsequently that he would never have known from his language that Palmer was not a born Hindu."

Distribution of the Doms according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Benbansi.	Dhânuk.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Aligarh . .	...	...	21	995	1,016
Mathura . .	...	...	8	873	881
Agra . . .	...	...	15	869	884
Farrukhâbâd .	...	...	3	117	120
Mainpuri . .	...	...	...	152	152
Etâwah . .	6	...	20	143	169
Etah . .	...	...	...	95	95
Bareilly . .	...	...	...	538	538
Bijnor . .	...	...	...	2,929	2,929
Budâun . .	...	...	...	603	603
Morâdâbâd .	...	...	4	3,488	3,492
Shâhjahânpur .	...	...	...	307	307
Pilibhît . .	...	...	...	295	295
Cawnpur . .	...	...	26	96	122
Fatehpur . .	...	...	...	58	58
Bânda . .	...	...	...	8	8
Hamîrpur . .	...	...	20	27	47
Allahâbâd . .	...	...	205	108	313
Jhânsi . .	...	...	8	4	12
Jâlaun . .	...	...	18	20	38
Lalitpur . .	...	...	26	...	26
Benares . .	...	...	1,078	76	1,154
Mirzapur . .	...	...	8,039	3	8,042
Jaunpur . .	...	...	3,157	135	3,292
Ghâzipur . .	158	11	2,968	37	3,174
Ballia . .	36	...	1,671	...	1,707
Gorakhpur .	...	...	7,817	72	7,889
Basti . .	...	...	82	101	183

Distribution of the Doms according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Benbansi.	Dhânuk.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Azamgarh . .	3	...	1,234	135	1,372
Kumaun . .	...	...	137,760	...	137,760
Garhwâl . .	...	...	66,529	...	66,529
Tarâi . .	...	...	4,996	519	5,515
Lucknow . .	...	751	908	12	1,671
Unâo . .	...	1,285	1,904	30	3,219
Râê Bareli . .	...	1,411	4,084	51	5,546
Sîtapur . .	...	...	12	21	33
Hardoi . .	...	...	3	24	27
Gonda . .	...	129	1,790	27	1,946
Bahrâich . .	8	17	327	109	461
Sultânpur . .	...	...	...	102	102
Partâbgarh .	...	16	24	1	41
Bârabanki . .	...	780	2,441	272	3,493
Total .	211	4,400	265,949	28,363	298,923

Domar.—A caste recorded at the last Census in Allahâbâd Division. The Census returns show their sections as Lod in Fatehpur; in Bânda, Bânsphor, Basor, Benbansi, Janwâr, Malik, Saijâd, Sûpabhagat, Thail, and Tharkâri. This shows that they are really only a sub-caste of the great Dom race.

Distribution of the Domar according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Turaiha.	Others.	Total.
Cawnpur	18	141	159
Fatehpur	349	1,745	2,094
Bânda	...	10,371	10,371
Hamîrpur	...	2,308	2,308
Allahâbâd	...	19	197
Total .	367	14,762	15,129

Donwâr; Dunwâr.—A mixed Râjput-Bhuînhâr sept found in the districts of Gorakhpur, Ghâzipur, and Azamgarh. According

to Sir H. M. Elliot[1] at one time they were strong enough to establish a principality on the Kosi in Western Tirhût, and there are several monuments still existing in that neighbourhood which attest the power of the Donwâr Râja Karna Deva. In Ghâzipur[2] the Râjput and Bhuînhâr branches are quite distinct. They have a dark complexion and a cast of countenance which is not what is usually called Aryan. In Azamgarh[3] both sects admit descent from common ancestors, Sonpâl being the father of the Râjput, and Kuspâl of the Bhuînhâr. The Râjput branch say that they came from Don Darauli in Sâran, and are descended from Mayûra Bhatta, the mythical ancestor of the Bisen family of Salempur Majhauli, who, however, disclaim all connection with them. Among Râjputs they are of little consideration. The Bhuînhâr branch say that they came from Raindih near Delhi, but they admit their connection with the Donwârs of Tirhût and Sâran, and speak of themselves as the descendants of Jham Bhatta, whom they connect in a vague way with Mayûra Bhatta. They are sometimes known as Rainiya from the village of Raini in Pargana Muhammadâbâd, an early settlement in Azamgarh.

Dor.—A Râjput sept, now almost all Muhammadans, who before the coming of the Bargûjars were the chief owners of the country now included in the Aligarh and Bulandshahr Districts. Colonel Tod[4] remarks "that though occupying a place in all the genealogies, time has destroyed all knowledge of the past history of a tribe to gain a victory over whom was deemed by Prithivi Râja worthy of a tablet." The local traditions in Aligarh and Bulandshahr agree that they were lords of a large tract of country between the Ganges and Jumna long anterior to the Muhammadan invasion. They were at all times probably subordinate to the Delhi Râjas; and in Bulandshahr their power had been weakened, and their possessions encroached upon by the attacks of the Mewâtis, and the colonisation of their territories by the Bargûjars, Jâts, and other races. In and about Koil at least they seem to have retained some remnant of their former authority until the defeat of Prithivi Râja and the conquest of Delhi and Ajmer.[5] They claim kinship with the

[1] *Supplementary Glossary, s. v.*
[2] Oldham, *Memo.* I, 63.
[3] *Settlement Report,* 29, 43.
[4] *Annals of Rajasthân,* I, 125.
[5] *Aligarh Settlement Report,* II.

Panwârs and say that they came from the Upper to the Middle Duâb in the tenth century. They have a curious legend that their name is derived from the fact that one of their kings offered his head to the local goddess, Dor being a corruption of Dûnd, "headless." Haradatta was their king at the time of the invasion of Mahmûd of Ghazni, and most of the ruined forts in the Central Duâb are attributed to him and his descendants. They were finally, in the middle of the twelfth century, expelled by the Mîna Meos, Bargûjars, and Gahlots, and their power was finally broken by Shahâb-ud-dîn Ghori. They have now little influence. A clan of Gûjars of the same name in Khandesh claim their origin from them.[1]

Dorha; Daurha; Dauraha.[2]—A small caste found only in the Kheri District, who are so called because they make baskets (*dauri*). They have no sub-divisions. They call themselves Râjputs, the descendants of Râja Vena, who was the old world Brâhmanical type of impiety. They allege that the poorer members of the tribe were obliged by poverty to settle down in the Kheri District and take to their present occupation. Their rules of intermarriage and social position are very much the same as that of the Gorchhas (*q.v.*). Their present occupation is the making and selling of fans, baskets, boxes, etc. A few of them have taken to agriculture. They marry in the ordinary Hindu form, and employ a village Pandit to take the auspices. The essential part of the rite is the sevenfold perambulation of the bride and bridegroom round the central pole of the marriage shed (*mando*). The widow usually lives with her younger brother-in-law. The only rite at such marriages is investing her with a new set of glass bangles (*chûri*) and feeding the brethren. A wife can be turned out for misconduct, and can then marry again like a widow. They eat mutton and goat's flesh, fowls and fish, and drink spirits. They will not eat the flesh of the cow, monkey, pig, or vermin like crocodiles, jackals, snakes, lizards, rats or the leavings of other people. No one will eat, drink, or smoke with them. They number only 68 souls in the Kheri District.

Drâvira.—One of the five sub-castes of Brâhmans which go to make up what is called the Pancha Drâvira, one of the two great Brâhmanic groups. According to Dr. Wilson,[3] connected with their

[1] *Census Report, North West Provinces*, 1865, I, App. 17; Raja Lachhman Sinh, *Bulandshahr Memo.*, 147, 165; *Bombay Gazetteer*, XII, 67.

[2] Based on information supplied by Lt.-Col. W. P. Harrison, Deputy Commissioner, Kheri.

[3] *Indian Caste*, II, 56, *sqq.*

Vedic relations, they are divided into Rig Vedis, Krishna Yajur Vedis, Shukla Yajur Vedis, Sama Vedis, Drâvida Atharva Vedis, and Nunbis. And by sect they are either Smârtas, Vaishnavas, Sri Vaishnavas, Bhâgvatas or Sâktas. "The Drâvira Brâhmans profess to be the most scrupulous in India in reference to caste observance and practice, and in support of their pretensions in this respect they exhibit all kinds of absurdities and puerilities. They are great opponents of the re-marriage of widows and other proposals of reform." Their country lies to the south of Tailangâna and Maisûr and to the east of the Cochin and Travancore territories.

Distribution of the Drâvira Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	1	Jâlaun	1
Mathura . . .	61	Ghâzipur . . .	7
Bareilly . . .	1	Garhwâl . . .	22
Morâdâbâd . . .	7	Unâo	181
Cawnpur . . .	2	Faizâbâd . . .	1
Fatehpur . . .	1	Bahrâich . . .	7
Bânda	5		
		Total .	297

Dugdha.—A tribe of inferior Brâhmans on the borders of Fatehpur and Allahâbâd. "They date their origin from the time of Jay Chand, who figures in so many fabulous legends of those parts. A certain Pânrê Brâhman by name Barru, set up his abode as a recluse in Parsakhi, between Shâhzâdpur and the Ganges, and withdrew himself entirely from wordly concerns. His credit as a holy man was so great that Jay Chand became anxious to see him, and promised to reward any one who would bring him into his presence. After several unsuccessful attempts by all the chief officers of his Court, a woman of the Râjput tribe, and of great personal charms, ventured on the difficult undertaking. Her wiles and blandishments could not be withstood, and before long, the holy hermit con-

fessed himself the father of several children; and as the lady succeeded in the object of introducing him to an audience with Jay Chand, a grant of several villages was bestowed upon her. On the death of the hermit, she is said to have married a Qâzi, but it is not probable that such a connection took place at the early period of the Muhammadan conquest. However, she divided the inheritance, it is asserted, amongst her children. Those by the Pânrê, who were Dugdha Brahmans (*i.e.*, of mixed blood) received forty-eight villages, of the greater part of which they are in possession to this day. The Musalmân descendants also retain some of the villages said to have been granted at the same time. The Dugdhas are reckoned in no repute as Brâhmans; indeed they are properly Bhuînhârs and are very indifferent about the rank of the families with which they intermarry, not unfrequently receiving the daughters of Râjputs as wives."[1]

Durgbansi.—A Râjput sept found in the eastern part of the Province and Oudh. They are said to be a branch of the Dikhit sept. In Oudh it is said that they take their name from Râja Durga Vâhan Dikhit of Ajudhya; according to the Partâbgarh story, they are really an offshoot from the Bilkhariya sept, and are named from their ancestor Durga Dâs, the second son of Râja Râmdeo. Their social position may be judged from their giving daughters in marriage to the Chamar Gaur, Bandhalgoti, Tilokchandi Bais, Sombansi, Sûrajbansi, Sirnet, Baghel, and the Gaharwâr of Kantit. Their sons marry in the septs of Chandel, Puâr, Gautam, Raghubansi, Ujjaini, and the inferior grades of Bais.[2]

Dusâdh.[3]—A menial tribe found to the east of the province. An attempt has been made to derive the name from the Sanskrit *dush* "to be corrupted" and *ad* "to eat;" or from *dauh-sâdhika*, "a porter." But the name is more probably of non-Aryan origin. By the account current among themselves they are the descendants of Duhsâsana, the son of Dhritarashtra, who, when the Pândavas lost their wife Draupadi, in gambling with Duryodhana, dragged her forward by the hair and otherwise misused her. By another story they are the descendants of Bhîmsen. In the hills they call themselves Khasiya Râjputs, and say they are so called because they lived

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[1] Elliot, *Supplementary Glossary*, s. v.

[2] Elliot, *Supplementary Glossary*, s. v.: Elliott *Chronicles of Unâo*, 34; *Partâbgarh Settlement Report*, 95, *Note*.

[3] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur.

on the borders of Kumaun and Garhwâl. Another legend makes them the descendants of the hero Salhes, who is connected with the Lorik cycle. He was the companion of Harua and Barua who were defeated by Lorik.

Legend of Bâwan Ganga.

2. There is another famous tribal legend which is thus told by Mr. Beglar.[1] "There was a Dusâdh living in Râjgir, whose daughter used to take the household pigs out in the field to feed. It happened that as she was so engaged on the day of the full moon of a certain great festival, she saw a Brâhman walking on very rapidly. On questioning him he replied that he was going to bathe in the Ganges on the full moon. The girl replied "You cannot possibly reach the Ganges in time; but if you believe me and your mind be full of faith, this is the exact moment of the full moon, and here is a pool (in which her pigs were wallowing); dip into it and you will realise the full fruits of bathing in the Ganges at this auspicious moment." The Brâhman did as she desired and when he was in the pool, she said "Now is the exact moment. Dive in and see what you get." The Brâhman did as desired and found the bottom full of valuable gems, of which he clutched a handful and came up. "Dive again," said the girl. He dived again and found only mud at the bottom. "You see," said the girl, "that I told you only the truth, when I said you will be too late if you go to the Ganges, for at the moment of your first dive the moon was at its exact full and you got your reward."

3. "The Brâhman was astonished and seeing her as lovely as she was wise proposed marriage. She referred him to her father who refused, saying he could not presume to ally his daughter of low caste to a high caste Brâhman. The Brâhman thereupon threatened to kill himself, and the Dusâdh fearful of incurring the guilt of Brahmahatya, consented after consulting his friends; the marriage was duly solemnised, and the girl then taught her husband to ask no dowry of her father except a particular cow, a particular pig, and a particular parrot. The Dusâdh, on bidding his daughter good-bye and Godspeed when they were departing, desired his son-in-law to ask for any gift she chose. The Brâhman refused, but being pressed, he bound the Dusâdh by a promise to grant his request, and then asked for the cow, the pig and the parrot, as he had been taught.

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[1] *Archæological Reports*, VIII., 102.

The Dusâdh being taken aback was bound by his promise to give them up.

4. "The parrot was an extraordinary one, as he would daily go to Indra's palace and bring the news of what took place there to his mistress; the pig was the leader of all the pigs in the country, and the cow was no other than the famous Surabhi. One day the parrot told his mistress that Indra had given orders that during the approaching rainy season, it should rain nowhere in the district except on the sterile valleys and stony slopes of Râjgir. The girl on hearing this immediately called her pig and directed him to dig up the whole of the stony valleys and hill slopes of Râjgir; the pig with the aid of his subject pigs did as she desired. She then directed her husband to go and scatter paddy in all these places, explaining the object to her husband. He did as desired. When it rained the paddy seed sprouted and the whole of stony Râjgir was full of paddy, while outside not a blade of paddy was to be found owing to want of rain. It being reported to Indra that within Râjgir enough of paddy had been grown to stave off famine, he ordered an army of mice and rats to be sent to destroy the crops; but the girl informed of this order by her parrot, got her husband to procure an army of cats as guard; when it was reported to Indra that this plan of destroying the crops had failed, he directed that when cut, each load of the paddy sheaves should produce only one and a quarter *ser* of clean paddy. The girl informed by her parrot of this order, directed her husband to make bundles of only two stalks of paddy each tied end to end. The order of Indra having gone forth and become irrevocable, each of these bundles produced one-and-a-quarter *sers* of paddy. Indra informed of this and seeing himself outwitted, ordered a furious storm to blow and scatter all the paddy which had been threshed out ready for storing. The girl informed of this and aware that no wattle hut would resist the storm should he store it in such, directed her husband to dig the deep moat now seen round Râjgir. When the storm blew it naturally carried all the paddy into these trenches where it lay safe till the storm had blown over, and thus was the country saved from famine through the cleverness of this girl, in memory of whom the pool where her pigs used to wallow was named Bâwan Ganga or the fifty-two Ganges." This story is interesting as it marks the custom which still prevails among the Dusâdhs of introducing men of higher caste than their own into their tribe, and this is one of the reasons why it is so difficult to fix

their position ethnologically, and to lay down with certainty whether they are a degraded Aryan race or of genuine Dravidian stock. The tribe is clearly very much mixed and is probably a compound of many different races.

Tribal organisation.

5. At the last Census the Dusâdhs entered themselves under seven sub-castes beside others whose numbers were not sufficient to warrant their inclusion in the returns. These sub-castes are Bharsiya, Dhârhi, Gondar, Kanaujiya, Madhesiya, Magahiya and Rajar. Of these we have the Dhârhi separately noticed and the Gondar perhaps mark a Dravidian branch akin to the Gonds and Mânjhis. Another Mirzapur enumeration gives the sub-castes, which as usual are supposed to amount to the mystical number seven, as Magahiya or "residents of Magadha"; Kanaujiya from Kanauj; Dârhi, Dhârh or Dhârhi which may correspond to the drummers and singers of that name; Baheliya who have been separately described as a tribe of hunters and fowlers; Tirhûtiya or those of Tirabhukti or Tirhût; Palwâr which is also the name of a sept of Râjputs, and Gondar. A third Mirzapur list supplied by a member of the tribe gives the sub-castes as Dusâdh, Khatîk, Pâsi, Pahri, Kuchaniya, Kujra, and Dharkâr, where we have a mixture of various well known tribes. The detailed Census lists show the sub-castes of local importance as the Gujahua and Panwâr of Mirzapur; the Barwâr and Belwâr of Ballia and the Bangariya, Gauriya, Katoraha, Khariya, and Kotiya of Gorakhpur. All this goes to corroborate the theory of the mixed character of the tribe. These sub-castes are now endogamous, but there is some reason to believe that this process of fission into endogamous groups may, in some instances at least, be of comparatively recent origin. Thus in Mirzapur they assert that up to modern times the Magahiya and Kanaujiya Dusâdhs used to intermarry; but now they have ceased to do so because when the Kanaujiyas gave their daughters to the Magahiyas, they would not allow them to return home with their husbands, but insisted on their sons-in-law coming to live with their fathers-in-law; in other words *beena* marriage was the rule in these two groups. The result of this is said to have been that marriage ceased between them and the groups became endogamous. The Mirzapur Dusâdhs fix their original home in Magadha or Bihâr, and left it when their ancestor Râhu, of whom more will be said later on, who used to live in a place called Kedallean in Bengal

was shut up in the temple of Jagannath at Puri. He sometimes comes out, and only ten years ago, he appeared to a Dusâdh lad in Mirzapur who was ploughing in the field for his master. The godling took pity upon him and showed him where a pot of gold was buried, wherewith he purchased his freedom from slavery. Another of their revered ancestors was one Churla of whom many stories are told. He fell in love with the daughter of a Râja and was killed by him; since then he has become a tribal godling.

Tribal council.

6. The Dusâdhs have a tribal council known as Panchâyat, of which the Chairman is known as Sardâr or Mâjan, a corruption of Mahâjan or "great man." Under him a summoner or wand bearer, the Chharidâr, who summons the members to the meetings of the council. All adult members of the tribe have a seat on the council; but minors are not allowed to attend. The council deals with theft, adultery, eating and drinking with a stranger, keeping a daughter unmarried or not allowing her to join her husband or seducing another man's wife. The case is decided by the votes of all the members present. The usual punishment is a fine which varies from five to twenty rupees. Besides this the culprit has to give a feast to the members of the council. Money realised by fines is spent in providing spirits for the entertainment of the council. Those members who are too poor to pay a fine, are punished with a shoe-beating which is administered by one of the members. The council, as in all these tribes, act as compurgators and use the knowledge they themselves have obtained in deciding a case. When the Chairman whose office is hereditary is a minor, his duties are discharged by one of his adult relations.

Marriage rules.

7. They do not marry in the family of their maternal uncle, of their father's sister, of their sister, till three generations have expired since the last connection by marriage, and in their own family (*kul*) as long as any recollection of a marriage relationship exists. They can marry a second wife in the lifetime of the first if she be barren. The second wife is known as *adheli* or only half a wife, and her position is very much inferior to that of the first wife. They are not allowed to keep a concubine of a tribe lower in the scale than their own; but a man can keep a woman of a higher caste, and she and her children are admitted to full caste privileges when the man who cohabits with her gives a tribal feast. Marriage is, as a rule,

adult, and if a girl has long passed the age of puberty, she is usually treated as a widow and married by the inferior *sagâi* form. The parents of the bridegroom in Mirzapur pay a bride-price which is fixed by established caste custom at five rupees in cash, three sheets, and four rupees worth of sweetmeats. The consent of the parents is in all cases necessary to make a marriage valid. The occurrence of any physical defect after marriage is a valid ground for repudiating the woman; but such conduct is discouraged, and in all cases such proceedings must have the sanction of the council. A man can expel a wife who is detected in adultery, and such women may marry again by the *sagâi* form; but before this is allowed, the parents of the guilty pair have to feed the brethren. It is remarkable among them that the offspring of the *adheli* or second wife are excluded from inheritance in the estate of their father.

Widow marriage.

8. Widows and divorced women, if the fine have been discharged, are married by the *sagâi* form. Usually a widow is married to a widower. The match is arranged by a member of the tribe. A Pandit is called in to announce a lucky date. Then the man with a few friends goes to the house of the widow and gives her parents some clothes and sweetmeats. Then the friends on both sides are entertained and at night the bride is taken into a dark room where the bridegroom goes and gropes about until he catches her and smears some red lead on her forehead. It is the etiquette for her to avoid him for some time. This smearing of powder is usually done in the *Deoghar* or room devoted to the worship of the tribal godling. Next morning the bridegroom takes the bride home and when he has feasted the clansmen the marriage is recognised as valid.

Birth ceremonies.

9. The umbilical cord is cut by a Chamârin, and if a woman of the caste were to perform this duty, she would be turned out of caste. She puts it in an earthen pot, the mouth of which she closes tightly and carries it to the bank of a tank where she buries it secretly in the ground. In the confinement room a fire is lighted in which a piece of iron is placed. At the door of the room a branch of a thorny shrub called *senhar* is tied, and some hang a bunch of onions. All these precautions are taken to bar the entrance of the evil spirit Jamhua, which clutches, in the form of an owl, the throat of the child and chokes it. Jamhua appears to take its name from

Yama, he god of death. The disease is really infantile tetanus, which is caused by the careless cutting of the cord with a blunt instrument and the neglect of all antiseptic precautions. The disease runs a course of about twelve days, and this accounts among this and the allied castes for the selection of the twelfth day (*barahi*) for the performance of ceremonies to ward off the evil spirit. The Chamârin attends for six days and for twelve days the mother is daily rubbed with the condiment called *ubtan*. On the sixth day is the *Chhathi*, when the women of the tribe are provided with oil to rub their heads and red lead to smear on the parting of their hair. On this occasion some treacle is distributed among them. The mother and child are bathed while the women sing the *sohar* or birth song. The Chamârin receives as her perquisite the old clothes of the mother. The ceremonies of the sixth day are repeated on the twelfth day, and the house is purified in the usual way. On both these occasions, they worship the clan deities Parameswari and Bandi-Bhawâni in the family oratory (*Deoghar*) and offer to them balls of ground rice mixed with sugar and water. Some add a burnt offering (*hom*) with flowers and betel. In the same way they worship Gangaji and all rivers generally in connection with marriage. The women go in procession to the river side, and there are met by the Dafâli who sings songs in honour of the Ganges, and the women offer sweets (*laddu*), flowers, betel leaves, and make a burnt offering. All these things are the perquisite of the Dafâli. On their return home the women of the tribe are entertained on cakes (*púri*) and rice boiled with sugar (*mîtha bhât*).

Adoption.

10. Adoption is common among Dusâdhs. Usually the boy adopted is the son of a brother or other near relative. All the members of the caste resident in the villages are invited, and after the adoption has been announced, they are entertained on spirits, boiled rice, and pork. They say that the ceremonies on the sixth and twelfth day after birth amount to an initiation into the caste equivalent to the Brâhmanical investiture with the sacred thread (*janeu*), and they have a great contempt for any one in whose case these ceremonies have not been duly performed. When a boy is two years old, they get a goldsmith to pierce his ears at the *Khichari* festival. The child is seated facing the east, and is given some sweets during the operation. The goldsmith receives as his remuneration one anna and a ration of uncooked grain.

Betrothal.

11. Matches are arranged by one of the men of the caste, who is known as the *agua*.[1] On an auspicious day fixed by the Pandit, the father of the girl goes to the house of the boy accompanied by three or four friends, and when he has inspected the boy, and approved of him, he gives him some sweets. That day the date of the formal betrothal, which they call *hardi dhân*, is fixed. On that day a square is made in the courtyard and the two fathers sit inside it. A Pandit is called in and he recites a few verses (*mantra*). The fathers each exchange five handsful of paddy, and the Pandit places a packet of betel in the hand of each. Then the fathers rush together and each puts his packet of betel leaves in the breast of the other. They each tie up the paddy in a handkerchief, and salute each other with *Râm !*, *Râm !* Next comes the changing of cups (*piyâla badalna*), when the fathers sit in the square each with a cup of spirits in his hand. They exchange cups and drink the contents, and the friends are treated to a drink Then at the house of the boy a dinner of rice, pulse, and pork is given, and next day the Pandit fixes an auspicious day for the wedding.

Marriage ceremonies.

12. The marriage ceremonies begin with the digging of the sacred earth (*matti khan*), which is done by the women, each of whom receives some oil and red lead to decorate the parting of her hair. The earth is brought and placed in the marriage shed (*mânro*), in the centre of which a ploughshare is erected. Each woman gets some cakes and in return presents four annas as a contribution to the expenses of the wedding. The marriage ritual is of the normal type. When the boy starts to fetch his bride, he is armed with a dagger (*katâr*). He is accompanied by a party of musicians (*bajaniya*). On their arrival at the bride's house, the boy's father sends the bride some

[1] Writing of Bengal Mr. O'Donnel says: "In the upper castes, in which a girl is properly looked after and secluded from dangerous acquaintances within the female apartments, it is safe to leave her unmarried till, with Asiatic precociousness, she is an adult; but in the lower orders, particularly amongst the labouring classes of Bihâr, whose women go about openly and work in the fields, it is imperatively necessary to anticipate the period of budding womanhood. The practice of infant marriage among Dusâdhs, Musahars, and Chamârs is meaningless without this explanation. The sexes are in very even proportions. There is no lack of material for husbands and wives. At the same time people that allow their girls a great deal of liberty in the way of freedom from the personal restraint of the zenâna, but who may lose caste, which even to a Dom means a very great deal, by any vagaries in their connubial arrangements, must apply another safeguard against family disgrace. It is necessary to marry their daughters as children, and not to wait to a period when great risk would be inevitable." *Census Report*, 208.

cheap jewelry, known as *dal*, which is placed in the marriage shed. The friends all get drunk that night. At the actual wedding, the bride's father worships the feet of the bridegroom, and then an offering is made to Gauri and Ganesa. The pair have their clothes knotted and walk five times round the shed. After this the bridegroom goes into the oratory (*deoghar*) and worships the family gods of the bride. At the door as he comes out, the bride's sister bars the way and will not let him pass until she receives a present, apparently a survival of marriage by capture. After the husband brings his wife home, the brethren are fed and Gangaji is worshipped in the way already described.[1]

Death ceremonies.

13. The infant or unmarried dead are buried. Adults are cremated in the usual way. After the cremation is over the mourners chew leaves of the bitter *nîm* tree as a sign of sorrow, and touch water, their feet and head with a piece of iron to keep off the *Bhût*. Then the man who fired the pyre pours a little spirit on the ground in the name of the deceased, and takes a drink himself, which is also distributed to the other mourners. Next day the chief mourner goes to the cremation ground and pours some milk on the ground in the name of the dead man. In the evening the clansmen assemble. A pit is dug in the ground and over it they hold a leaf of the *pîpal* tree on which they first pour a little milk and a little water, and let it drop into the pit. The death impurity lasts for seven days On the tenth day, there is a ceremonial shaving of the mourners and clansmen; grain is given to Brâhmans, and the brethren are feasted. They perform the usual *srâddha*, and some even go from Mirzapur to Gaya for this purpose.

Religion.

14. Dusâdhs assert that they are orthodox Hindus. They are very seldom initiated into the ordinary sects; but if this be done, they prefer the Vaishnava cultus. But as appears from their tribal worship, they have retained a large amount of the primitive animistic beliefs. Their tribal deities in Mirzapur are Râhu and Ketu, the ascending and descending nodes, Chhath, Bandi, and Manukh Deva. The legends and worship of Râhu, the eclipse demon, have been considered elsewhere,[2]

[1] At the last Census no less than 284, 594 persons declared themselves worshippers of Gangaji.

[2] *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore*, 10.

and Mr. Risley[1] has given a very complete and interesting account of the worship as it prevails in Bihâr. In Mirzapur the worship of Râhu is done in this wise. A pit is dug in the ground, one-and-a-quarter cubits wide and seven cubits long. In this logs of wood are evenly laid, and on them oil is poured. Then a Brâhman is called in who does the fire sacrifice (*hom*). When the wood in the trench has burnt away until only some hot cinders are left, the worshippers walk one after the other along it followed by the Brâhman priest. In Bihâr, it is a tribal priest known as the Bhakat who presides, and the association of the Brâhman in Mirzapur is a very remarkable fact. Another form of the worship is to fix up two bamboos in the ground a short distance apart. Between the poles a couple of swords are tied and thus a sort of ladder is made. The officiant climbs up these and stands on one of the sword blades with his naked feet and from the top pours some milk on the ground in the name of Râhu. Then he descends and a young pig is brought before him which he kills by repeated thrusts of a sword or spear. Some spirits are also poured on the ground and the meat and the rest of the offerings are consumed by the worshippers.

Songs in honour of Râhu.

15. As a further illustration of this very primitive form of worship it may be worth quoting the song sung on this occasion by the Dusâdhs in the Mirzapur District :—

1. *Kai hâth bhagata tuiri khanawalé ? kai man chailawa bojhai ho ?*
2. *Kai man bhagata ghiu dharkáwalé ? Uthelé aginiyán kai dhár ho ?*
3. *Sáté hâth bhagata tuiri khanawalé ; man das chailwa bojhan ho ?*
4. *Sawa man bhagata ghiu dharkáwalé ; uthela aginiyán kai dhár ho.*

"O devotee ! How many cubits long is the ditch which thou hast dug ? How much wood hast thou laid therein ? How many maunds of butter hast thou poured therein that the billows of fire rise in the air ? O devotee ! seven cubits long is the trench which thou hast dug. Ten maunds of firewood hast thou piled therein.

[1] *Tribes and Castes.* I. 254, *sqq.* For walking through fire see *Indian Antiquary* II. 190 ; III. 6 ; VII, 126.

One maund and a quarter of butter hast thou poured thereon that the billows of fire arise."

1. *Beriyânhi heri tonhi barajon maliniyân batiyân dawanawân mati lâo.*
2. *Yahi bâten aihen mâlin Râhu kai khatolawa Ketu kai macholawa dawanawân jani lâo.*
3. *Awê dehu Râhu kai khatolawa Ketu kai macholwa; ham debê anchara pasâr.*
4. *Ghorawa ta bandhâwalê asoka ki dariyân; dhapasi kai paithalen phulwâr.*
5. *Kethuen sinchâwali mâlin dawana menrawa, kethuen sinchâwali mâli arabul kai phûl.*
6. *Dudhawon sinchâwalon mâlin dawana menrawa Ganga nire arabul ke phul.*
7. *Dawana menrawa mâlin benchi khochi khaiha arabul kai phûl, mâlin rakhiye pratipâl.*

"O wife of the gardener! I warn thee bring not thus the marjoram leaves. The great litter of Râhu and the little litter of Ketu will by and by pass this way. Bring not then the leaves of marjoram:—Let the great litter of Râhu and the little litter of Ketu pass this way and I will spread the robe that covers my breast. Rahu tied his horse to the Asoka tree and passed quickly into the garden. Said he—"O wife of the gardener! With what didst thou water the millet and the marjoram; and with what the Arabul?"[1] She answered "With milk did I water the marjoram and the millet; with Ganges water the Arabul." Said Rahu—Sell the marjoram and the millet and live on what you can make from them; but preserve the Arabul."

Worship of Chhath, etc.

16. They worship Chhath or Chhathi, the sixth, on the sixth lunar day of Kuâr. All the previous day they fast and before sunrise go singing to the river side. They strip and walk into the water where they stand facing the east till the sun rises, when they stand with folded hands and bow in reverence to him, and make an offering of various kinds of cakes (*thokwa, gulgula*) and any other kind of wood which they can procure. Some offer in addition grain, rice, and sweetmeats. These are afterwards distributed among the friends of the family.

[1] *Arabul* is perhaps the same as *ariband*, the lotus. For more of these songs to Râhu see Grierson, *Maithil Chrestomathy*, 3, *sqq*.

The other tribal deities, Bandi and Manukh Deva, who is the "man spirit," the *Bhût* of some dead worthy of the tribe, are worshipped on the tenth day of Kuâr in the house temple (*deoghar*) with a sacrifice of fowls and a young pig and an oblation of spirits. They also offer seven cups of milk and seven pairs of cakes which they range round the earthen mound which is the common abiding place of the tribal gods. They observe most of the ordinary Hindu festivals and take advantage of the Phagua or Holi and the Kajari to indulge in a good deal of drinking and gross sensuality. In fact, on these occasions, the rules of modesty and decency are allowed to fall into abeyance.

Social rules.

17. Their oaths are done by standing in water, or on a *pîpal* tree, or by touching the head of one of their sons. They will not eat beef; but use freely mutton, goat's flesh, and venison. They are now beginning to abandon the use of fowls. Before eating they put a little food on the ground in honour of Dharti Mâta, the Earth goddess. The women wear the ordinary Hindu dress with thick bangles (*mâthi*) on the wrist and heavy anklets (*pairi*). They eat *kachchi* and *pakki* cooked by all Brâhmans, Vaisyas, and Kshatriyas, and also by the more respectable lower castes, as the Ahir. They will not eat anything touched by a Dom, Chamâr or Dharkâr.

Occupation.

18. It is said that most of Lord Clive's army which fought at Plassey consisted of Dusâdhs. Now they do not take military service. Their drunken lazy habits prevent them from rising to the position of occupancy tenants and most of them are ploughmen in the service of other tenants or landlords or they serve as village watchmen (*gorait, chaukidâr*). They practise no handicraft and some of them live by wood cutting or collecting jungle produce.

Distribution of Dusâdhs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Bharsiya.	Dharhi.	Gondar.	Kanaujiya.	Madhesiya.	Magahiya.	Rajar.	Others.	TOTAL.
Sahâranpur . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	12
Agra	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	82	82

Distribution of Dusâdhs according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Bharsiya.	Dharbi.	Gondar.	Kanaujiya.	Madhesiya.	Magahiya.	Rajar.	Others.	Total.
Bareilly	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	81	81
Budaun	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	560	560
Morâdâbâd	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10
Cawnpur	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	23	23
Allahâbâd	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	64	64
Benares	...	...	3,265	21	...	...	...	1,471	4,757
Mirzapur	...	...	3,444	...	...	...	...	4,090	7,534
Ghâzipur	...	...	11,779	...	...	...	...	356	12,135
Ballia	...	5,615	2,474	3,307	...	...	26	9,578	21,000
Gorakhpur	291	7,692	3,001	17,293	1,714	719	1,729	2,815	35,254
Basti	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	8
Azamgarh	...	337	204	80	645	14	...	109	1,389
Hardoi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Kheri	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Partâbgarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2
Total	291	13,644	24,167	20,701	2,359	733	1,755	19,263	82,913

Dûsar (*dûsra*, "second"), a sub-caste of Banyas numerous in parts of the Allahâbâd and Lucknow Divisions. In the returns of the Census of 1881 great confusion was caused by the amalgamation of the Dûsar Banyas with the Dhûsar or Bhârgava, who claim Brâhmanical origin. Even in the returns of 1891 it is not certain that this error has been completely eliminated. The Dûsars rank low among Banyas, admit widow marriage, and are said to be a branch of the Ummar sub-caste descended from a second wife, whence their name. From Cawnpur the curious rule is reported that the parents of the bride pay a dowry, the maximum of which is Rs. 211 of the pice current in Râê Bareli, which are worth about

eleven annas. From this it is assumed that Râê Bareli was an early settlement of the Dûsars.

Distribution of the Dûsar Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Bulandshahr . . .	7	Benares	2
Mathura	6	Lucknow . . .	2,925
Furrukhâbâd . . .	488	Unâo	14,368
Etâwah	138	Râê Bareli . . .	2,945
Pilibhît	2	Sîtapur	8
Cawnpur	10,001	Hardoi	6,817
Fatehpur	6,566	Kheri	138
Hamîrpur . . .	5	Faizâbâd	748
Allahâbâd . . .	9	Bârabanki . . .	428
		Total .	45,601

G

Gadariya;[1] **Gararíya; Gaderiya; Ganreriya**—(Hindi *gâdar*, "a sheep:" Sanskrit *gandhâra*, so called because originally brought from the country of Gandhâra or Kandahar).—The caste of shepherds, goat-herds, and blanket-weavers found all over the Province. In many parts they are known as Guâl Gadariya, and there seems strong reason to believe that they are in some way connected with the Ahîr or Guâla race, though their personal appearance indicates a much larger admixture of non-Aryan blood. This is strengthened by the fact noted by Mr. Risley[2] that in Bihâr they will take both *kachchi* and *pakki* food from Guâlas.

Internal structure.

2. According to the last Census the Gadariyas of these Provinces recorded themselves in twelve sub-castes besides several more whose numbers were too small to find a place in the final returns. These sub-castes are Baghel; Bamhaniya; Chandel; Dhîngar; Haranwâl; Kachhwâha; Nikhar; Phûl-singhiya; Râthaur; Rautela; Sâgar; Saraswâr. Nearly half of these are the names of well-known Râjput septs, and this may possibly go to show that the formation of these endogamous groups, under at least their present names, may be of comparatively modern date. It is asserted from Bareilly that they admit outsiders into the caste: this is doubtful and apparently not the case in the Eastern Districts. In Benares Mr. Sherring[3] gives an entirely different set of sub-castes—Dhîngar; Nikhar; Jaunpuri, or "those from Jaunpur;" Illahâbâdi, "those from Allahâbâd;" Bakarkasâu, or "goat butchers;" Namdawâla, or "makers of felt," and Chikwa who are usually classed with the Qassâb. He asserts that the first four sub-castes keep sheep and goats, not so the remaining three. They also manufacture blankets. The Bakarkasâu and Namdawâla sub-castes do so likewise. The Chikwas are Muhammadans. He also names two other sub-castes—the Bhararíya, who derive their name from *bher*, a sheep. "Nevertheless they are not employed in tending sheep, but in other kinds of labour. The Baikatas are the lowest in rank among the Gadariyas. They live by begging scraps of hair from the other sub-castes that keep

[1] Based on notes by the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Bareilly: M. Niyâz Ahmad, Head Master, High School, Fatehpur, and a note from Jhânsi received through Mr. W. G. Jackson, C.S.

[2] *Tribes and Castes*, I, 271.

[3] *Hindu Tribes*, 1, 338.

flocks, and selling the proceeds." Sir H. M. Elliot names also the Taselha or Pachhâdê, "those of the west," Chak, Bareiya, Paihwâr, and Bhaiyatâr. From Agra it is reported that the women of the Dhîngar sub-caste wear bangles of glass, bore their noses, and do not eat meat; while those of the Nikhar do not wear glass bangles, do not bore their noses, and eat meat. Of the 1,113 sections of Hindu and 8 of the Muhammadan branch included in the detailed Census Returns, those of the chief local importance are the Chandan, Mokha, and Sahla of Sahâranpur: the Ahîr, Chhotisen, Sahla, and Uchahri of Muzaffarnagar: the Bhatti, Ganga, Panwâr, and Râê of Bulandshahr: the Hans, Madâriya, and Sengar of Aligarh: the Vaneli of Mainpuri: the Raikwâr of Etâwah: the Sengar of Bareilly: the Sahla of Bijnor: the Rautelê and Sahla of Morâdâbâd: the Magar and Panwâr of Cawnpur: the Panwâr of Fatehpur: the Rohingar of Hamîrpur: the Darsiya of Ghâzipur: the Sailiya of the Tarâi: the Thengar of Râê Bareli: the Barharwâr, Dokhar, and Panwâr of Hardoi, and the Nikhad of Sultânpur.

Traditions of origin.

3. The Western Gadariyas call themselves Marhattas and describe themselves as emigrants from Gwâlior. Some of them still visit Gwâlior to worship the goddess Kâli Devi, and they employ a colony of Gwâlior Bhâts who have come from Gwâlior and settled at Anupshahr in the Bulandshahr District. The Gadariyas fix their emigration from Gwâlior in the time of the Dor or Tomar Râja Buddh Sen.

Marriage rules.

4. The Gadariyas usually marry their girls at the age of from seven to twelve. To the west it is a rule among them after marriage to lodge the bride first on her arrival with her husband in a separate room, and then she is not admitted into the house until she pays a sum of money to the men or persons connected with her husband by marriage with women of his family. In the course of this function a mimic struggle goes on between the two parties. Next morning after she is thus received into her husband's family, the women of the house fill an iron pan with water and place in it two silver rings and some blades of grass. The married couple then struggle to see which of them will secure the rings. The bridegroom's female relations do their best to help him. Whichever of the pair secures the rings will have the mastery during married life. When the mock struggle is over, the winner pours the contents of the vessel over the loser. There are no marriage brokers; matches are

arranged by a member of the caste. He receives a rupee and a turban from the father of the bridegroom; but if he commit any fraud in arranging the match, the council have one side of his moustache shaved in the presence of the brethren, and also impose a fine. A man may discard his wife for infidelity, but such women are not allowed to remarry in the caste. Widow-marriage and the levirate are permitted, and the children by any form of recognised marriage are equal heirs. Illegitimate children are not allowed to intermarry or even smoke with those of pure blood. A man who marries a widow has generally to pay something to her relations, and in any case he has to pay any debts she may have contracted during widowhood.

Birth customs.

5. The woman during delivery sits on a stool facing the Ganges. She is attended by a sweeper or Koli midwife for at least three days. When the birth of a male child is announced, one of the mother's female relations hurries out of the house, and draws all round the walls a line of cowdung as a magic circle to keep off evil spirits. She also makes a rude cowdung figure at each side of the door, and fixes up seven pieces of broomstick near it. When a girl is born, only a piece of a broken earthen pot is put up over the door. On the second day the mother is given a condiment which is supposed to consist of thirty-two drugs boiled together. On the tenth day the mother and child are taken to the nearest well with singing, and she worships the well by marking the platform with turmeric, and placing upon it the cowdung figures which had been fixed up near the house door. They all return, and soaked gram and sweets are distributed.

Marriage customs.

6. The marriage ceremonies are of the normal type. There are some observances which may be survivals of marriage by capture. Thus, while the marriage is going on, the women of the bride's family carry on a mock fight with the relations of the bridegroom, and are allowed to strike them with the kneading roller (*belan*). If a girl has a particular curl of the hair which is supposed to resemble a female snake (*sânpin*), she is first married to a camel-thorn bush (*jhar beri*). If a bachelor in the same way marry a widow, and she bear him a daughter, in order to overcome the evil influence which is supposed to arise from the *dhareja* form of marriage, he gets himself married to a tree before he gives away the daughter in marriage to another.

Death customs.

7. Gadariyas cremate their adult dead, except those who have died of snake-bite or small-pox. If such corpses are cremated, they believe that at the burning a steam arises from them which strikes the mourners blind. On the way to the burning ground a ball (*pinda*) is offered in the name of the deceased. The son of the deceased fires the pyre, and each of the mourners throws in five cakes of cowdung fuel. Some ashes are sifted and placed the following day on the spot where the death occurred, and next morning from the marks on the ashes they speculate as to the form which the soul will assume in the next birth. They perform the usual *srâddha*.

Religion.

8. Gadariyas are orthodox Hindus, the Musalmân branch of the caste being very inconsiderable. Their chief deity is Kâli. They also worship a local deity known as Châmar. This is more especially done in the Naudurga of Chait and Kuâr and when cholera or other epidemic disease is about. The offerings consist of cakes (*pûri*), coarse sugar, and sometimes a goat. The last is taken by the Chamâr priest and the former by the local Brâhman priest or Kherapati. Another spirit named Jakhaiya or Jokhaiya is largely worshipped by Gadariyas in the Western Districts. He is said to be the ghost of a Muhammadan Ghosi. His priest is a sweeper, and his offering a young pig. The chief shrine of Jokhaiya, who, according to the last Census, was worshipped by 87,061 persons, is at Pendhat, in the Mainpuri District. He is there said to have been a Bhangi, who was killed during the war between Prithivi Râja of Delhi and Jaychand of Kanauj. His offering is a pig, which is presented by women who long for children and pray for easy delivery. The fair is said also to bring timely winter rain. To the west of the Province they are served by Sanâdh Brâhmans; to the east by low class Brâhmans of various tribes.

Social status.

9. In Bihâr, according to Mr. Risley, the Gadariya ranks higher than the Ahîr; but this does not seem to be the case in these Provinces. They are, however, careful about food and drink, and maintain a fairly high standard of personal purity. Their original occupation is keeping and selling sheep and goats and making blankets; but besides this they cultivate and practice various forms of trading. The women have a reputation for untidy habits, as the common proverb runs,—*Ek to Garerin, dusrê lahsan khâê*—"a shepherdess and eating garlic in the bargain."

Distribution of Gadariyas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Hindus.													Muhammadans.	Total.
	Baghel.	Bamhaniya.	Chandel.	Dhingar.	Haranwâl.	Kachhwâha.	Nikhar.	Phulsinghiya.	Râthaur.	Rautela.	Sêgar.	Saraswâr.	Others.		
Dehra Dûn . .	...	...	...	399	103	...	311	...	...	...	...	...	590	...	1,403
Sahâranpur . .	...	...	...	400	585	...	278	7	...	...	...	92	10,088	...	11,450
Muzaffarnagar .	...	50	483	489	1,226	...	422	455	...	...	...	324	12,104	...	15,553
Meerut . . .	...	...	...	473	34	...	9,088	50	...	...	...	...	6,717	...	16,362
Bulandshahr . .	...	...	129	453	...	...	...	37	...	...	...	...	15,480	...	16,099
Aligarh . .	...	...	398	12,281	3,109	...	1,060	...	...	...	...	...	18,831	...	35,678
Mathura . .	47	...	177	11,726	...	92	227	10	145	616	160	160	4,485	...	17,847
Agra . . .	431	...	164	30,616	...	352	335	...	78	...	776	13	4,448	...	37,113
Farrukhâbad . .	...	...	...	2,009	329	...	26,130	24	5	...	...	...	1,692	1	30,190
Mainpuri . .	...	172	31	9,545	...	...	13,809	4,385	33	145	...	180	1,794	...	30,094
Etâwah . . .	52	...	224	15,535	...	407	4,178	367	92	162	223	233	6,597	...	26,070

Distribution of Gadariyas according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Hindus.													Muhammadans.	Total.
	Baghel.	Bamhaniya.	Chandel.	Dhingar.	Haranwâl.	Kachhwâha.	Nikhar.	Phulsinghiya.	Râthaur.	Rautela.	Sâgar.	Saraswâr.	Others.		
Etah	...	277	17	14,459	250	47	8,807	...	370	...	69	26	3,082	...	27,404
Bareilly	...	...	...	7,943	...	...	5,202	390	91	...	...	...	2,309	...	15,935
Bijnor	...	12,851	...	4,272	65	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	407	...	17,595
Budâun	...	...	52	12,914	40	...	12,729	...	...	...	...	...	2,659	...	28,394
Morâdâbâd	...	...	209	5,171	59	...	7,882	13	81	...	...	38	11,879	...	25,332
Shâhjahânpur	...	...	...	1,091	...	...	7,483	70	...	...	...	...	787	...	19,431
Pilibhît	...	...	...	112	16	...	6,699	1	6	...	...	...	384	6	7,224
Cawnpur	...	141	354	6,732	...	...	27,872	...	28	...	...	531	10,036	3	45,697
Fatehpur	...	372	886	4,136	...	...	13,267	...	...	...	...	291	5,650	1	24,603
Bânda	...	5	508	294	...	...	7,428	...	...	...	...	35	3,593	...	11,863
Hamîrpur	...	...	202	2,254	...	...	3,215	25	...	...	...	30	4,983	9	10,718
Allahâbâd	...	...	50	11,108	...	...	28,950	...	...	...	...	...	1,356	20	41,484

Jhânsi . . .	...	...	189	2,168	...	...	7,097	25	82	...	...	...	963	...	10,524
Jâlaun . . .	...	86	178	9,492	...	...	578	6	16	...	...	...	2,823	...	13,179
Lalitpur . .	...	...	5	247	96	...	4,218	26	39	...	...	...	1,431	...	6,062
Benares . .	...	...	...	223	...	...	9,898	...	2,583	...	...	...	1,266	...	13,970
Mirzapur . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	20,187	285	...	...	...	...	3,163	...	23,635
Jaunpur . .	...	...	...	94	...	...	21,660	...	...	...	...	...	3,241	32	25,027
Ghâzipur . .	...	...	25	...	40	...	5,382	...	...	...	...	...	4,370	...	9,817
Basti . . .	...	...	...	174	...	...	10,499	...	...	...	...	...	199	...	10,872
Ballia . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,152	...	...	...	...	...	1,314	...	3,467
Gorakhpur . .	...	...	...	5,732	...	...	7,749	...	...	...	...	..	2,686	...	16,167
Azamgarh . .	...	...	18	243	...	...	7,715	..	...	...	...	28	1,484	...	9,488
Kumaun . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	4
Garhwâl . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	20
Tarâi . . .	...	...	...	440	14	...	1,030	...	...	...	...	...	1,780	...	3,264
Lucknow . .	...	...	4	3,868	...	...	6,822	...	...	...	...	4	1,516	72	12,286
Unâo . . .	..	507	479	13,444	...	...	4,430	...	415	...	...	317	5,663	...	25,255

Distribution of Gadariyas according to the Census of 1891 —concld.

Districts.	Hindus.													Muhammadans.	Total.
	Baghel.	Bamhaniya.	Chandel.	Dhingar.	Haranwâl.	Kachhwâha.	Nikhar.	Phulsinghiya.	Râthaur.	Rautela.	Sâgar.	Saraswâr.	Others.		
Râê Bareli	...	...	81	25,069	...	...	4,233	...	...	...	...	...	391	...	29,774
Sîtapur	...	50	...	16,083	329	...	617	...	...	...	...	...	1,685	...	18,435
Hardoi	...	2,641	...	310	...	...	34,610	24	...	...	...	711	4,356	...	42,981
Kheri	...	...	...	15,726	...	...	299	...	...	...	...	...	520	...	16,545
Faizâbâd	...	...	...	2,658	...	...	13,743	...	...	...	...	...	119	...	16,520
Gonda	...	...	...	6,128	...	...	12,274	...	...	...	...	...	451	234	19,087
Bahrâich	...	...	...	15,586	...	...	2,215	...	...	...	...	...	530	...	18,331
Sultânpur	...	...	...	7,948	...	...	14,970	...	...	...	...	...	2,158	...	25,076
Partâbgarh	...	...	...	15,311	...	...	15,790	...	...	...	...	...	638	...	31,739
Bârabanki	...	...	...	10,824	...	...	2,795	...	...	...	...	...	754	...	14,373
Total	530	17,152	4,763	304,180	6,295	898	406,337	6,200	4,064	923	1,228	3,013	173,476	378	929,437

Total Hindus	929,059
Total Muhammadans	378
Grand Total	929,437

Gaddi.—The caste of Muhammadan cow-herds. They have been separately enumerated at the last Census, but they are often regarded as a sub-caste of Ghosis. They are probably closely allied to the Ahîrs; in fact many of them are almost certainly Ahîrs who have embraced Islâm. In the Panjâb[1] there are two quite distinct classes of people known by this name—the Musalmân Gaddis of Karnâl and its neighbourhood, who are identical with the Gaddis of these Provinces, and a hill tribe inhabiting the mountain range between Kangra and Chamba. Some of them, again, are believed to be of Khatri origin, and these General Cunningham is inclined to identify with the Gandaridae or Gangaridae. In parts of these Provinces, according to Sir H. M. Elliot,[2] it is not unusual to call any converted Hindu a Gaddi, which is looked on by a true Musalmân as a term of reproach. They, with other low caste tribes, were old occupiers of Oudh, and they were powerful enough to make invasion costly to the advancing Râjputs,. According to one authority the women in Oudh are notorious for immorality, and the men for the filthiness of their persons and stupidity.[3]

2. The complete returns of the last Census show 255 sections of the tribe. These are of the usual type: some territorial, such as Aharwâr, Audhiya, Bahrâichi, Balapura, Gorakhpuri, Kanaujiya, Mathuriya, Purbiya, Saksena, Sarwariya, and Shâhpuri. Others are derived from the names of well-known castes or septs, as Ahîr, Bâchhar, Bais, Bhadauriya, Bhangi, Bhatti, Bisen, Chamarbans, Chandela, Chauhân, Chhatri, Domar, Ghosi, Gûjar, Hurakiya, Jât, Kamboh, Kori, Mewâti, Pathân, Râthaur, Sayyid, Shaikh, Tânk, Teli, Tomar, and Turkiya.

Distribution of the Gaddi according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	360	Aligarh	1,292
Muzaffarnagar . .	5	Mathura	7
Meerut . . .	3,421	Agra	79
Bulandshahr . . .	1,201	Etah	386

[1] Ibbetson, *Panjâb Ethnography*, *section* 498: Drew, *Jammu*, 108.
[2] *Supplementary Glossary*, *s.v.*
[3] Elliott, *Chronicles of Unão*, 25: Williams, *Oudh Census Report*, 83.

Distribution of the Gaddi according to the Census of 1891—concld.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Bareilly . . .	1,354	Azamgarh . . .	479
Budâun . . .	4,381	Tarâi	363
Morâdâbâd . . .	237	Lucknow . . .	3,581
Shâhjahânpur . .	1,079	Unâo	1,198
Pilibhît . .	446	Râê Bareli . . .	353
Cawnpur . . .	3	Sîtapur . . .	4,164
Fatehpur . . .	20	Hardoi . . .	10,598
Bânda . . .	8	Kheri	7,347
Allahâbâd . . .	48	Gonda . . .	65
Benares . . .	1	Bahrâich . . .	2,098
Ghâzipur . . .	178	Sultânpur . . .	59
Gorakhpur . . .	2,394	Bârabanki . . .	1,340
Basti	3,424		
		TOTAL .	51,970

Gaharwâr.—An important sept of Râjputs. Their name is spelt Gahadawâla in the grants, and an eminent authority, Dr. Hoernle, connects it with the Sanskrit root *gah*, in the sense of "dwellers in caves or deep jungle."[1]

Tribal tradition.

2. The tribal tradition, as told by the family bards of the head of the sept, the Râja of Kantit, in the Mirzapur District, is as follows:—From Chandrama the moon came Buddh, and from Buddh came Pururavas. Some generations later was born Yayâti, who, when he reached an old age, longed to recover his youthful vigour. With this view he called his sons, born of his two wives, Devayâni and Sarmishtha, and asked them to make over their youth to him. They all refused except the youngest, the son of Sarmishtha. So Yayâti cursed them all, and prayed that they might never enjoy royal power. One of

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, XV, 988. In the Paurânik texts we find a people known as the Gahvara or Girigahvara, who are described as dwellers in caves. Wilson, *Vishnu Purâna*, 196.

them, Yadu, was the ancestor of the Yaduvansis, none of whom have ever gained sovereignty. Yayâti reigned many years, and finally abdicated the throne and crowned his youngest son in his room and became an ascetic. After many generations in his line Deva Dâsa reigned at Kâshi or Benares. He was famous for his good works, and hence incurred the envy of the malignant deity Sani or Saturn. He endeavoured to divert Deva Dâsa from his life of piety, but he failed, and the good king gained the title of *graha-râra* or "overcomer of the planet," of which Gaharwâr is a corruption. He worshipped Mahadeva so fervently that the deity abandoned Kâshi and retired to the summit of Kailâsa. But he became tired of his life of seclusion, and incited the other gods to mislead Deva Dâsa. All failed, but the Dhundhê Râja Ganesa, who overcame the piety of Deva Dâsa, who was obliged to retire to Kanauj, which was then called Râshtradesa, and becoming lord of that land, his descendants were known as Râthaur. His descendant was the famous Râja Jaya Chandra, whose dominions are recorded in the Hindi verse:—

Kara, Kâlpi, Kamaru, Kashmîr lawa desa :
Khud, Kâshi, Kanauj dhani Sri Jaya Chandra naresa.

"Jaya Chandra, lord of men and powerful sovereign, was ruler of Kara, Kâlpi, Kamaru, Kashmir, Kanauj, and Benares." After his defeat by Shahâbuddîn Ghori, Jaya Chandra's nephew is said to have fled to Rohtâsgarh; another to Krishnagarh, in Marwâr; a third to Jodhpur, and a fourth to Juâlamukhi. The son of the King of Rohtâsgarh was granted by Shîr Shâh the Pargana of Kera Mangraur, now in the Mirzapur District, and became a Musalmân. The younger fled to Kantit, in the same district, and, with the aid of a Sukla Brâhman of Dhaurahra, near Bijaypur, overcame the Bhar Râja of that place and founded the family of the Gaharwâr Râjas of Kantit-Bijaypur. All the other Gaharwârs trace their lineage to Benares or Bijaypur. Those in Hardoi say that the country was held by Thatheras, whom they defeated and expelled.[1]

3. Sir H. M. Elliot thinks it doubtful whether they preceded the Râthaurs at Kanauj, or, after being incorporated with them, were dispersed with them at the final conquest of Kanauj by Muhammad Ghori. Even now the Cawnpur branch derive their name from *Gharbâhar*, because they were turned out of house and home after the fall of Kanauj.[2]

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[1] *Hardoi Settlement Report*, 89: Oldham, *Ghazipur Memo.*, II, 47, *s q.*: *Farrukhâbâd Settlement Report*, 13: Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II, 459: Oldham, *loc cit*, I. 58.

[2] *Cawnpur Settlement Report*, 22.

4. The Gaharwârs hold a high rank among Râjput septs. They give daughters to the Baghel, Chandel, and Bisen, and take brides of the Bais, Râjkumâr, Maunas, Gautam, Palwâr, Chauhân, Parihâr, Sombansi, Sirnet, and Dikshit.

In Farrukhâbâd they give brides to the Chauhân, Râthaur, Bhadauriya, and Kachhwâha, and take girls from the Nikumbh, Chandel, Raikwâr, Solankhi, Gaur, Chamar-Gaur, Parihâr, and Ujjaini. They claim to belong to the Bharadwâja *gotra*. In Unâo they receive brides from the Dhâkrê, Janwâr, and Parihâr; and give their girls to the Gaur, Bais, Chandel, and Sombansi.

Distribution of the Gaharwâr Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Mathura . . .	12	Mirzapur . . .	20,249
Agra	46	Jaunpur . . .	1,901
Farrukhâbâd . .	3,326	Ghâzipur . . .	6,583
Mainpuri . . .	578	Ballia	693
Etâwah . . .	389	Gorakhpur . . .	892
Etah	1,900	Basti	369
Budâun . . .	105	Azamgarh . . .	260
Morâdâbâd . . .	8	Lucknow . . .	1,065
Shâhjahânpur . .	269	Unâo	1,176
Pilibhît . . .	164	Râê Bareli . . .	509
Cawnpur . . .	2,162	Sîtapur . . .	360
Fatehpur . . .	118	Hardoi . . .	2,129
Bânda	433	Kheri	178
Hamîrpur . . .	317	Faizâbâd . . .	2
Allahâbâd . . .	4,013	Gonda . . .	120
Jhânsi	17	Bahrâich . . .	32
Jâlaun	219	Sultânpur . . .	1,076
Lalitpur . . .	19	Partâbgarh . . .	511
Benares . . .	846	Bâra Banki . . .	131
		Total .	53,477

Gahlot.—A sept of Râjputs also known as Sisodiya and Ahariya. One derivation of the name Gahlot is from Sanskrit *guha*, "a cave." It is said that when the ancestors of the Râna of Mewâr were expelled from Gujarât, one of the queens named Pushpavati found refuge among the Brâhmans of the Maliya mountains: she was shortly after delivered of a son, whom she called from the cave (*guha*) in which he was born, by the name of Gahlot. Others derive the name from *gahla*, "a slave girl," in allusion to their supposed descent. One derivation of the name Sisodiya is *Siva sudhiya*, "a devotee of the god Siva;" another is from *sîsa*, "lead" as one of the tribe once drank melted lead with impunity. A third is from *sasa* or *sussa* "a hare," which is supposed to have been the tribal totem. But it seems safer to regard the name as a local appellation, derived from the town of Sisodha, the first home of the sept, as Ahariya is taken from the town of Anandpur Ahâr, near Udaypur. The name Gahlot was changed to Ahâriya when the sept migrated to Nagindra. The throne of Chithor was recovered in 1201 A.D. by Bharat, who was succeeded by Rakûp. Two great changes were introduced by this prince—the first in the title of the sept to Sisodiya; the other in that of its prince from Râwal to Râna.

2. According to Colonel Tod[1] they migrated from Kosala under Kanak Sen, and became rulers of Ballabhi and Gajni, from which the last prince Siladitya was expelled by Parthian invaders in the 6th century. "A posthumous son of his, Grahaditya, obtained a petty sovereignty at Edar. A change was marked by his name becoming the patronymic, and Grahilaut or Gahlot designated the Sûryavansa of Râma. With reverses and migrations from the wilds of Edar to Ahâr, near the modern Udaypur, the Gahlot was changed to Ahâriya, by which name the race continued to be designated till the 12th century, when the elder brother, Rakûp, abandoned his claim to the throne of Chithor, obtained by force of arms from the Mori, and settled at Dungarpur, which they yet hold, as well as the title Ahâriya; while the younger, Mahûp, established the seat of power at Sisodha, whence Sisodiya set aside both Ahâriya and Gahlot." There seems to have been always a prejudice against the tribe, and in ancient times they had a reputation for cowardice. Their name has been identified with the Gallitalutæ of Ptolemy's lists.[2]

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[1] *Annals*, I, 90.

[2] Beames, *Indian Antiquary*, I, 276; McCrindle, *ibid*, VI, 342, *note*.

The Gahlots of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

3. One branch of so-called Gahlots, who are now known as Chirâr, were in the service of the Râja of Mainpuri, but their claims to pure Gahlot blood are not admitted. In Farrukhâbâd[1] the sept claims to have come from Chithor. Govind Râo, the founder of the colony, is said to have come with Prithivi Râja, the Delhi prince, in his expedition against Jay Chand of Kanauj, and to have received one hundred and eighty villages in this and the neighbourhood of Cawnpur as a reward for the valour he displayed. From him they have preserved a pedigree down to the modern representative of the sept; but this shows but thirteen or fourteen generations from Govind Râo, while it would require over forty years a generation to make him a contemporary of Prithivi Râja. It is most probable that some names have dropped out of the list. In Unâo[2] the sept were emigrants in the time of Aurangzeb and dispersed the original Kori inhabitants. In Mathura[3] they are classed as pure, because they do not practise widow-marriage. The families there call themselves Sâh, Chaudhari, and Râo. In Bulandshahr[4] they are supposed to have given their name to the town of Gulâothi. In Cawnpur[5] they are said to have turned out the Gaurs from Pargana Bilhaur, where their territory acquired unenviable notoriety which gave rise to the name Tisâh or "three harvests"—*kharîf, rabi,* and plunder. They have a very remarkable legend that Partâp Chand Gahlot, the conqueror of Chithor, was married to a daughter or grand-daughter of the famous Nausherwân, and hence the tradition that the Rânas of Udaypur are of Persian descent.

4. In Sultânpur they are reported to take brides from the Bilkhariya, Tashaiya, Chandauriya, Kath Bais, Bhâlê Sultân, Raghubansi, Gargbansi, Râjkumâr, Bachgoti, and Bandhalgoti; to receive brides from Tilokchandi Bais, Mainpuri Chauhâns, Sûrajbansis of Mahul, Gautams of Nagar, and Bisens of Majhauli. In Bulandshahr they receive brides from the Chauhân, Bargûjar, Pundîr, Panwâr, Solankhi, Tomar, Bhatti, and Râthaûr, and give brides to the Dhâkrê, Chauhân, Bâchhal, Kachhwâha, Bargûjar, and

[1] *Settlement Report*, 12.
[2] Elliott, *Chronicles*, 53.
[3] *Settlement Report*, 34: Growse, *Mathura*, 464.
[4] Raja Lachhman Sinh, *Memo.*, 115.
[5] *Settlement Report*, 22.

Tomar. They call their *gotra* Sûrajbansi Sanoha of Chithor and Udaypur. In Unâo they usually marry their daughters to the Kachhwâha, Râthaur, Chandel, and Panwâr; and select wives from the Chauhân, Dikhit, Parihâr, Chandel, and Sengar septs. In Ballia they take brides from the Donwâr, Sengar, Karchhuliya, Banâphar, Raghubansi, Kâkan, Bhrigubansi, Barhauliya, Ujjaini, Sombansi, and Kinwâr. They give brides to the Raghubansi, Nikumbh, Kausik, Sûrajbansi, Gautam, Drigbansi, Maunas, Sirnet, Râjkumâr, Jâdon, and Baghel septs. In Agra they claim to belong to the Kasyapa *gotra*.

Distribution of the Gahlot Rôjputs according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Sahâranpur . . .	173	8	181
Muzaffarnagar . . .	401	165	566
Meerut	10,189	.....	10,189
Bulandshahr . . .	3,140	1,200	4,340
Aligarh	2,827	.....	2,827
Mathura	2,177	173	2,350
Agra	3,056	26	3,082
Farrukhâbâd . . .	1,699	6	1,702
Mainpuri	669	.....	669
Etâwah	1,456	14	1,470
Etah	2,070	32	2,102
Bareilly	40	.....	40
Budâun	399	63	462
Morâdâbâd	234	13	247
Shâhjahânpur . . .	346	15	361
Pilibhît	27	.....	27
Cawnpur	2,536	6	2,542
Fatehpur	25	.....	25
Bânda	38	.....	38

Distribution of the Gahlot Rájputs according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Hamírpur	150	.....	150
Allahábád	5	3	8
Jhánsi	73	.....	73
Jálaun	353	4	357
Benares	103	.....	103
Jaunpur	150	115	265
Gházipur	349	99	448
Ballia	766	.....	766
Gorakhpur	167	.....	167
Basti	87	.....	87
Azamgarh	457	7	464
Lucknow	112	.....	112
Unáo	921	.....	921
Ráé Bareli	552	.....	552
Sítapur	81	5	86
Hardoi	69	.....	69
Kheri . . .	174	.....	174
Bahráich	22	.....	22
Sultánpur . . .	37	19	56
Partábgarh . . .	21	.....	21
Bárabanki	97	.....	97
Total .	36,245	1,973	38,218

Gahoi.—A sub-caste of Banyas, found chiefly in Bundelkhand and Morádábád.

2. The Gahois of Mirzapur, who do not appear in the Census lists, say that they are emigrants from Bundelkhand in the commencement of this century, whence they were driven by the pressure

of the Pindâri raids. One Biya Pânrê Brâhman protected their families in their misfortunes, and divided them into twelve *gotras* and seventy-two *als*. He is said to have been a schoolmaster and their tribal priest; after marriages his services to them are commemorated by the bridegroom pouring some butter and laying flowers and consecrated rice before a rude image of him painted on the house wall. The twelve *gotras* as given by them in Mirzapur are—Basil, Gol or Goil, Gangal, Bandal, Jaital, Kaunthil, Kâchhil, Bâchhal, Kassab or Kasyapa, Bharal, and Patiya. The last or Patiyas act as a sort of Bhâts or genealogists to the others, and are feasted and rewarded at marriages and other entertainments. They eat and drink on equal terms with their constituents. None of them can give any trustworthy list of their *als*.

3. Their rule of exogamy is that they do not marry within their own *gotra* or the *al* of the maternal uncle, father's maternal uncle and mother's maternal uncle. Widow-marriage is prohibited.

4. The Gahois are Vaishnavas; none have adopted the tenets of the Sarâogi or Jaina faith. Their tribal deity is Srikrishna, whom they worship under the name of Bihâri Lâl. They rank high among Banyas, and are said to be considered as respectable as Agarwâlas and Parwâls. They abstain from meat and spirits. Their priests are Bhârgava Brâhmans from Bundelkhand. They will eat *pakki* cooked by their clients. The Gahois will eat *kachchi* cooked by their clansmen and priests.

5. They are traders in country produce, commission agents, money-changers, and bankers.

Distribution of Gahoi Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Mathura . . .	7	Bijnor . . .	295
Agra . . .	248	Morâdâbâd . . .	3,510
Farrukhâbâd . .	100	Shâhjahânpur . .	13
Etâwah . . .	256	Pilibhît . . .	6
Etah . . .	1	Cawnpur . . .	342
Bareilly . . .	20	Fatehpur . . .	87

Distribution of Gahoi Banyas according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Bânda . . .	1,140	Lalitpur . . .	1,470
Hamîrpur . . .	1,614	Tarâi	235
Allahâbâd . . .	8	Lucknow . . .	16
Jhânsi . . .	8,239	Sîtapur . . .	1,182
Jâlaun . . .	8,580	Kheri	1,192
		Total .	29,361

Gandharb; Gandharv.[1]—A caste of singers and prostitutes. Of the original Gandharvas Professor Dowson[2] writes:—"The heavenly Gandharva of the Veda was a deity who knew and revealed the secrets of heaven and divine truths in general. He is thought by Goldstücker to have been a personification of the fire of the sun. The Gandharvas generally had their dwelling in the sky or atmosphere, and one of their offices was to prepare the heavenly *soma* juice for the gods. They had a great partiality for women, and had a mystic power over them. The Atharva Veda speaks of 6,333 Gandharvas. The Gandharvas of later times are similar in character; they have charge of the *soma*, are skilled in medicine, regulate the asterisms, and are fond of women. Those of Indra's heaven are generally intended by the term, and they are singers and musicians who attend the banquets of the gods."

Marriage rules.

2. The Gandharbs of these provinces are found in small numbers only in Benares, Allahâbâd and Ghâzipur. They address themselves by the title of Râê. They name seven exogamous *gotras*—Arakh, Sîtal, Ramsi, Shâhimal, Hîwan, Pachbhaiya, and Udhomana. The detailed Census Returns give the *gotras* as Anrukh, Arakh, Bacha, Bahajbana, Bajbhân, Banal, Baturha, Bhakwa, Chhatri, Gandwâr, Kanaujiya, Kashmîri, Khodari, Manho, Namahrin, Namin, Rabisi, Ramsan, Râwat, Sahmal, Saliyâli, Shâhi, and Somal. A man must marry outside his own *gotra*, that of his father, mother, and their ancestors, to the fifth degree. He, moreover, cannot marry in the *gotra* of his

[1] Based on a note by Munshi Fasihuddîn, Deputy Collector, Benares.

[2] *Classical Dictionary*, s. v.

sister's and brother's father-in-law. He cannot marry two sisters at the same time; but if he marry the elder of two sisters and she die, he can marry her younger sister.

The rules of prostitution.

3. Beautiful girls or those who show from their childhood a taste for music are selected for prostitution and not allowed to marry in the caste. A meeting of the brotherhood is held before the girl comes to maturity, and it is settled that she is to be allowed to have intercourse with no one but a Hindu of high caste. If she does not abide by this rule, she is at once expelled from the caste. When the matter is thus settled, some sweets are distributed, and she is formally declared to be a prostitute. The first man who engages her services is regarded as her *quasi*-husband. On such an occasion all the ordinary ceremonies of a Hindu marriage are performed at the house of the girl, except the walking round the fire (*phera*). Other girls not selected for prostitution are married in the tribe in the ordinary way. But if a man take to any low or degrading occupation, not sanctioned by tribal usage, he is not allowed to marry.

Tribal traditions.

4. The Gandharbs of Benares ascribe their origin to Delhi. They tell the following legend to account for their emigration. The fort of Chandrâvati was built by Râni Chandrâvati. This is possibly the place of that name in the Jhallâwar State in Rajputâna. She was a Chhatri by caste and married the Muni Uddâlaka. Their descendants reigned there for many generations, until they were driven out by the Raghubansi Râjputs, and were obliged to retreat to the banks of the river Tons. Khemrâj was the first Raghubansi king of Chandrâvati, and he was succeeded by his son, Doman Deo. He had a groom named Shîru, who one day went out to cut grass in the jungle and fell asleep. While he slept a cobra raised its hood over his head and a wagtail (*khanjarît*) kept flying over him. Doman Deo happened to observe these signs which pointed to his groom becoming a king, so he sent for him and asked what he would do for him if he ascended the throne. Shîru for a long time could not understand his meaning. At last he promised to make Doman Deo his prime minister. So he went to Delhi, the throne of which happened to be vacant at the time, and, as was the custom, an elephant was given a garland which it was to lay on the neck of the fittest.[1] Three

[1] For an example of this custom, see Tawney, *Katha Sârit Sâgara*, II, 102.

times, to the astonishment of everyone, the elephant laid the garland on the neck of Shîru, and he became Emperor of Delhi under the name of Shîr Shâh, and according to his promise, he made Doman Deo his prime minister. It need hardly be said that there is no historical foundation for the story.

5. Doman Deo continued to hold the office of Wazîr for some time, and at last had a quarrel with his master, because he bought a horse which his master was anxious to secure. So he was banished and had to return to Chandrâvati, and with him came a Gandharb, named Nandu, with his wife Arjuni, the former of the Ramsi and the latter of Arakh *gotra*, and from them were descended the present Gandharbs.

6. They do not admit outsiders into their caste. In most cases marriage is infant; but there have been occasional instances of the marriage of adults. Sexual license before marriage of these girls selected for a respectable life is strictly prohibited. The prostituted girls are never allowed to marry. Polyandry is totally forbidden, and polygamy is allowed only when the first wife is barren or suffering from some loathsome or contagious disease. A man can marry as many wives as he can afford to keep; but they never have more than two or three. Their marriage ritual is of the usual high class type. Widow-marriage is strictly forbidden; but it appears that the keeping of widows as concubines is not unknown; such are known as *Suraitin*; they have no rights, and their children are illegitimate and not admitted to caste privileges. If a man suspect his wife of adultery, he brings the matter before the tribal council (*Panchâyat*) which, if the case be proved, permits a divorce, though in some cases a stipend is assigned to the woman. A divorced woman cannot be remarried, but she often lives with some one as a concubine.

Marriage.

7. They follow the Hindu law of inheritance. Among the married people (*grihasth*) the daughter has no rights of succession; among the dancing classes, on the contrary, the shares of a daughter and a son are equal, and if a dancing girl lives with her friends and dies among them, the uncle, mother, son, daughter, and brother would share equally. On this question the Hindu law, as laid down by Mr. Mayne,[1] is clear. "It is hardly necessary to say that as under the ordinary Hindu

Inheritance.

[1] *Hindu Law*, 171.

law an adoption by a widow must always be to her husband, and for his benefit, an adoption made by her to herself alone would not give the adopted child any right, even after her death, to property inherited by her from her husband, nor indeed to her own property, however acquired, such an adoption being nowhere recognised as creating any new status, except in Mithila, under the Kritima system. But among dancing girls it is customary in Madras and Western India to adopt girls to follow their adoptive mother's profession, and the girls so adopted succeed to their mother's property. No particular ceremonies are necessary, recognition alone being sufficient. In Calcutta, however, such adoptions have been held illegal, and it seems probable that the recognised immorality of the class of dancing girls might lead the courts generally to follow this view."

Religion.

8. Gandharbs are Hindus of the Vaishnava sect. The women who are married specially worship Mahâdeva, while Ganesa is the special patron of the dancing girls, since he is regarded by them as the author of music. They offer wreaths of flowers, and a sweetmeat made of sesamum and sugar called *til-ka-laddu*, to him on Wednesdays. Mahâdeva is worshipped on no particular day with the leaves of the *bel* (*aegle marmelos*). They also worship a deity known as Thâkur Deota, who is probably some form of Vishnu. In the city of Benares these offerings are taken by a class of Brâhmans called Panda; in villages by Bhanreriyas or Husaini Brâhmans. The Gandharb women keep a fast exclusive to them in the month of Bhâdon, known as the Tij bharat, in honour of the goddess Pârvati. Their special tribal deity is Bâba Kinnarâm, who was a famous ascetic. His shrine (*asthân*) is at Râmgarh, in the Chandauli Tahsîl of the Benares District, and it is largely frequented by barren women who come to pray for children, and by dancing girls in hope of success in their profession.[1] They always employ Brâhmans for ceremonial and seldom for religious purposes. Such Brâhmans are treated on an equality by other Brâhmans: for their funeral ceremonies they employ Mahâbrâhmans. The dead are cremated in the orthodox way and the ashes consigned to the Ganges. They practice the usual *srâddha* and feeding of Brâhmans after a death in the family.

[1] For Kinnarâm, see under *Aghori*.

9. The Gandharbs believe dancing and singing to be their tribal occupation. A few have settled down in the Benares District as agriculturists. Some live with their dancing girls and accompany them to entertainments, where they play on the *sâz*, which consists of the tambourine (*tabla*) and fiddle (*sârangi*). Half of the dancing fees are received by these men and distributed in the following way :—Two tambourine men get two annas each ; the drummer three annas ; one tuner of the instruments one anna. Some, again, act as trainers of dancing girls in music and dancing. Those in the villages are often tenants ; but it is a peculiarity among them that they will never sublet their land to a person of their own caste. In Benares the sowing of poppy is one of their favourite occupations.

Occupation.

10. They will eat the flesh of goats and sheep and scaly fish and drink spirits. A good many who consider themselves specially pious abstain from the use of meat and spirits. They will not eat *kachchi* from the hands of any but Brâhmans and clansmen ; and they will smoke with no other caste but their own. The lowest caste that they can take *pakki* from or drink with is the Ahîr. Another peculiarity of them is that they will not eat *pakki* with any Hindu landlord of their village.

Social rules.

Distribution of the Gandharbs according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.
Allahâbâd	21
Benares	590
Ghâzipur	53
Total	664

Gandhi (Sanskrit, *gandhika, gandha* "perfume"), the manufacturer of incenses and perfumes.—"The tendency to supplant Hindustâni by Persian words has given rise to the use of many other terms—'Itrfarosh, Khushbusâz, 'Itrsâz, and 'Attâr used in a perverted sense."[1] They are both Shaikh and Sayyid Musalmâns, who marry only among themselves. Some of the more advanced

[1] Hoey, *Monograph on Trade and Manufactures*, 107.

follow the Musalmân rules of exogamy, but among those who live much with Hindus there is a tendency to revert to the recognised Hindu formula, and they will not marry the daughter of the uncles or aunts on both sides. The final Census Returns include a number of sections which, however, do not appear to influence marriage. These are among the Hindu branch, which is not separately marked off in the returns, Dinâr: and among the Muhammadans Deswâli, Gandhikâr, Jagbasa, Kapariya, Kanju, Shaikh, Sadîqi, Sikhri, and Unta. They believe themselves to be descended from two ancient worthies, Shaikh Sana and Shaikh Zainuddîn, to whom at various seasons of the year they make offerings of food and sweetmeats. In the Eastern Districts they look on Jaunpur as their head-quarters. Widow-marriage is forbidden. Marriage is performed in the forms known as *shâdi* or *charhauwa*, and the *dola*, but by the Musalmân ritual women of other castes are admitted by reading passages of the Qurân over them and making them eat the leavings of a Gandhi. Wives are divorced for adultery, but the custom of wives divorcing their husbands is unknown.

Religion.

2. They principally venerate Imâm Husain, 'Ali and Ghâzi Miyân. To these are offered sweetmeats, cakes (*malîda*), and a special kind of prepared rice called *tinchâwali*. On the 'Îd, Shab-i-barât, and Baqar 'Îd they make offerings of food to the spirits of their dead ancestors.

Occupation and social status.

3. The process of manufacture is distillation as practised at liquor distilleries, but the still (*bhabka, bhapka*) used in distilling perfumes is of peculiar construction. "I can best describe it as a gigantic goblet (*surâhi*) made of copper. In this is placed what is called the *zâmin* or *mâwa* of all perfumes, *viz.*, Sandal 'Itr, which is made at Kanauj. The flowers from which the perfume is to be extracted are thrown into water in the cauldron on the fire, and then perfume comes off in steam and passes through the worm into the copper *bhapka* and combines with the Sandal 'Itr. When the *bhapka* is removed the perfumed oil is separated from the water in the *bhapka* by skimming the surface with the hands."[1] They follow the Musalmân rules regarding food, but will not eat food cooked by Muhammadan Mehtars.

[1] Hoey, *Monograph on Trade and Manufactures*, 107.

Distribution of the Gandhie according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	25	Jaunpur . . .	2
Muzaffarnagar . .	124	Ghâzipur . . .	27
Meerut . . .	300	Pallia	11
Farrukhâbâd . .	3	Gorakhpur . . .	29
Etâwah . . .	2	Azamgarh . . .	33
Etah	1	Tarâi	1
Bijnor	8	Lucknow . . .	8
Morâdâbâd . . .	56	Unâo	2
Shâhjahânpur . .	42	Bahrâich . . .	22
Cawnpur . . .	1	Bârabanki . . .	79
Fatehpur . . .	2		
		Total .	778

1. **Gandhîla** (Sanskrit *gandha*, "smell," in the sense of "fetid," "mal-odorous").—A vagrant tribe which was at the last Census found in small numbers in the Meerut and Muzaffarnagar Districts. Their home appears to be in the Panjâb. They are said by Sir H. M. Elliot[1] to be a few degrees more respectable than the Bâwariyas; but in this assertion he was certainly mistaken. According to Mr. Ibbetson,[2] "they wander about bare-headed and bare-footed, beg, work in grass and straw, catch quails, clean and sharpen knives and swords, cut wood, and generally do odd jobs. They are said to eat tortoises and vermin. They also keep donkeys (whence their other name *Gadahla*), and even engage in trade in a small way. It is said that in some parts they lead about performing bears, but this I doubt. They have curious traditions which are reported to me from distant parts of the Province, regarding a kingdom which the tribe once possessed, and which they seem inclined to place beyond the Indus. They

[1] *Supplementary Glossary, s. v.*

[2] *Panjab Ethnography, Section* 595.

say they are under a vow not to wear shoes or turbans till their possessions are restored to them." Of the same people Major Temple[1] writes:—"They are usually described in the courts as "homeless sweepers." They are Musalmâns of a very low order of intelligence, and in appearance more like beasts than men. They come principally from the Montgomery District, and are inveterate thieves, especially of dogs, which they eat. They will also eat animals which have died a natural death, and putrid flesh."

2. In these Provinces[2] they are all Hindus. Some of them pretend to have *gotras* within which a man cannot marry, but of these they can give no list, and it would seem that they have no law of exogamy except a vague injunction that they should not marry near relations. In the detailed Census Returns four *gotras* are recorded—Abri, Chauhân, Gandena, and Gohal. They wander about with little huts made of reed (*sirki*), and seldom stay more than a few days in the same place. They call themselves indigenous to the Upper Ganges-Jumna Duâb. They freely admit outsiders into their community, and the only ceremony of initiation is that the new comer has to drink with the members of the tribe. Marriage takes place both in infancy and when they become adults. As a rule they prostitute their girls, and infidelity is little regarded. They allow the marriage of widows and divorced women by the *karâo* form. They do not employ Brahmâns in any of their domestic ceremonies, and the duty at marriages is performed by the brother-in-law or son-in-law of the bridegroom known as *dhiyâna*.

3. They call themselves Hindus; but they worship none of the ordinary Hindu gods, except Parameswar, who is worshipped by the women and children in times of sickness or trouble. All their other ceremonies are performed by the Dhiyâna above described. They do not perform the *srâddha*; but they lay out a little food for the ghosts of the dead and then eat it themselves. They eat any kind of carrion and vermin of all kinds which they catch. They live by begging and prostituting their women, and have only the most elementary industries, such as plaiting straw into baskets, sieves, and the like; but of this they do little. No other caste will eat with them; but it is said that some of them eat food from the hands of Kanjars, Sânsiyas, and similar vagrants.

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[1] *Indian Antiquary*, XI. 42.

[2] Note by the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Bijnor.

Distribution of the Gandhîlas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.
Sahâranpur	71
Muzaffarnagar	63
Total .	134

1. **Gangâputra,** "son of the Ganges."—A class of Brâhmans who preside over the bathing, *srâddha,* and other ceremonies which are performed on the banks of the Ganges at Benares and elsewhere along its course. They say themselves that when Bhagîratha brought the Ganges from heaven, he worshipped certain Brâhmans, and gave them the right in future to receive all offerings made to the sacred river. They are also known as Ghatiya, because they occupy ghâts or bathing-places along the Ganges bank. The right to seats at such places is very valuable, and disputes about them often come before the Courts. The Gangâputras belong to no special tribe of Brâhman. They may be Gaur, Sarwariya, or Kanaujiya, and though their profession is very lucrative, they have an evil reputation for roguery and rapacity, and not finding it easy to intermarry with respectable Brâhmans, there is a tendency among them towards endogamy.

2. His principal business is to act as the cicerone of pilgrims who come to bathe. He keeps a book in which he records the name and address of pilgrims who have accepted his ministrations, and about the time of bathing festivals, he and his emissaries beset the roads leading to the holy places and endeavour to attract visitors, whom he entertains for a consideration, and personally conducts round the various shrines and sacred bathing places. At his ghât he keeps a cow which the pilgrim touches as he goes to bathe, and he provides the worshipper with a little *kusa* grass and the materials for the *pinda,* which he usually offers up to his deceased relations. In his occupation the Gangâputra closely resembles the Gayawâl who acts as an emissary for the owners of the shrines at Gaya, and wanders about the country inducing villagers to undertake the pilgrimage, and personally conducting his constituents. A similar functionary is the Prayâgwâl, who officiates at the bathing festi-

vals at Prayâgji or Allahâbâd and the Mathuriya Chaubê of Mathurâ.

3. Another class of these mendicant Brâhmans is known as Sarvanriya Gangâputra. There is some doubt whether they are really Brâhmans at all, and some connect them with other mendicant singers like the Khapariyas. They claim, however, to be Brâhmans and wear the Brâhmanical cord. They carry about a pair of sticks called *kadalkâth*, which they rattle together very much in the same way as the "bones" used by negro minstrels. Some have an iron rattle called *charua*, with bells (*ghunghru*) which ring as they walk along. Most of them wear an iron bangle on the right wrist, which is used to keep off the evil spirits who surround them, attracted by their singing. They derive their name from their custom of going about and singing songs in commemoration of the tragic legend of Sravana, who is sometimes known as Sravana Rishi. He is by one account said to be the sister's son of Râja Dasaratha, of the solar race and King of Ajudhya. His father and mother were blind, and prayed to the gods for a son, which was granted; but it was decreed at the same time that their son's wife should be faithless. So when he came of age Sravana refused to marry; but his parents insisted on his taking a wife. When he brought her home she turned out to be an evil woman, faithless to her husband and harsh in conduct to his parents. She had a dish made with two compartments, one of which she filled with good food for her husband, and the other with foul scraps for his father and mother. One day the food was changed by accident, and Sravana discovered her deception. So, as the old people were near their end, their dutiful son resolved to take them in a basket (*kanwari*) slung across his shoulder to the Ganges. On the way he came to the village of Sarwan, in the Unâo District, where the legend is now localised, and laid his burden by the banks of a tank while he went into the jungle to rest. It so chanced that Râja Dasaratha was hunting in the forest, and hearing something move in the brushwood, he discharged an arrow, which killed Sravana. His parents, in their despair, cursed the Râja, and to their curse is said to be due the trouble which afterwards fell on the royal house. "From that day to this no Kshatriya has lived in the town which is founded on the spot and is called Sarwan. Many Râjputs have tried it, but evil has overtaken them in one way or another. The tank remains to this day, and by it lies under a tree the body of Sravana, a figure of

stone; and as he died with his thirst unquenched, so, if water is poured into the navel of the stone figure, the hole can never be filled up, but is inexhaustible in its demand."[1]

Sravanriya Gangâputras used formerly to go about begging and singing from about 2 o'clock in the morning. They acquired an evil reputation for snatching nose-rings and other jewelry from pious women who got up to minister to their wants: they now usually defer their visits to a later hour. It is considered meritorious among Hindus to listen to the songs of the dutiful Sravana early in the morning, and on such occasions, the singers are given alms, which usually consist of uncooked grain, but seldom of money. Formerly they were, it is said, in the habi tof sitting *dharna* at the doors of people who refused to give them alms. They find it dangerous to carry on such practices at present. It is needless to say that they bear a most indifferent reputation.

Distribution of Gangâputras according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Farrukhâbâd . .	131	Lalitpur . . .	1
Mainpuri . .	1	Benares . . .	45
Etâwah . . .	4	Gorakhpur . . .	139
Bareilly . . .	80	Lucknow . . .	6
Budâun . . .	112	Unâo	103
Morâdâbâd . . .	411	Râê Bareli . . .	706
Pilibhît . . .	2	Sîtapur . . .	2
Cawnpur . . .	179	Hardoi	46
Fatehpur . . .	179	Faizâbâd . . .	17
Hamîrpur . . .	4	Bahrâich . . .	3
Allahâbâd . . .	47	Bârabanki . . .	10
		Total .	2,228

Gangâri—A class of hill Brâhmans, who are inferior to the Sarolas, and are so called because they live on the banks of the Ganges. "Those who have settled in Chândpur and Lohoa call them-

[1] Elliott, *Chronicles of Unâo*, 589.

selves Sarolas however, and it would appear that the latter are the section of the Brâhmans living along the Ganges, who obtained employment at the courts of the petty Râjas. The offspring of any Sarola who sinks by intermarriage with a lower family becomes simply a Gangâri. The offspring of a Sarola and a concubine also becomes a Gangâri. Thus, if a Gairola, a sub-caste of the Sarola, marries, his offspring by a lawful wife will be called Sarola Gangâri, whilst his offspring by a concubine are called Gangâri Gairola. Indeed the inhabitants of the sub-divisions away from the river call all the people living along the Alaknanda, whether Brâhmans, Râjputs, Banyas, or Doms, by the generic name Gangâri or Gangâl, and there is no marked line of difference between the Sarola and Gangâri. The principal sub-divisions of the latter are the Ghildyâl, the Dâdai, and the Malâsi, who came from the Tarâi. The Ghildyâls serve the temple of Kânsmardini Devi; the Unyâls at the temples of Mahikhmardini, Kâlika, Râjrajeswari, Gharârî, and Damanda Unyâl; the Aswâls at Jwâlpa and several Bhairava temples. Two explanations are given of the superior position generally assigned to the Sarolas: one that they were selected as the parent clan to prepare food for the Râjas of Garhwâl, and hence their name; another is that when a standing army became necessary, they were appointed to cook for the troops in the field by Râja Abhaya Pâl, who further enjoined that all should eat from one vessel the food prepared by his Brâhman cooks—a custom generally observed to the present day. All the Brâhmans in Garhwâl are commonly styled Gangâris, but the better classes call themselves Sarolas, amongst whom the following sub-divisions are found—Kotyâl, Simwâl, Gairala, usually cooks; Kanyûris, attached to the civil administration of the Râjas; Nautyâls, teachers; Maithânis, servants; Thapalyâls, Ratûris, Dobhâls, Chamolis, Hatwâls, Dyondis, Malaguris, Karyâls, Naunis, Somaltis, cooks; Bijilwârs, Dhurânas, Manûris, Bhattalwâlis, Mahinya ke Joshis, and Dimris. Most of these names are derived from the village of origin (*thât*) of the sub-division. The Dimris are the cooks of Badari Nâth, and the food prepared by them may be eaten by all classes. Some are temple priests and claim to belong to the Dravirà division, the Kasyapa *gotra* and Madhindiniya *sâkha*, and to follow the Yajur veda. Many Dimris claim a southern origin for themselves, and others state that the Dimris are the offspring of the celibate Râwals of the temple and the Brâhman female attendants who

settled in the village of Dimar, and hence the name. They are now the servants of Badari Nâth in particular, and some have taken to agriculture, while others wander all over India, asking for alms and selling images of the deity stamped on metal, or exposing them for the worship of the faithful. The Ratûris derive their name from Ratûra, a village of Chândpur, and claim to have come there from Mahârâshtra in the time of the Pâla Râjas to visit Badari Nâth, and to have remained in the service of the Chândpur Râja. They belong to the Bhâradvâja *gotra*. They now occupy themselves with agriculture and service and as priests. They and the Dimris intermarry with other Sarolas. The Gangâris, like the Khasiyas, serve in the temples of the village deities and as priests of Bhairava; but the Sarolas, though not very orthodox in their ritual, only worship the orthodox deities. The Garhwâl Brâhmans have a reputation for gaining their ends by servile flattery, and the Khasiya section are reckoned so stupid and stubborn as to be only managed by fear; hence the proverb—*Garhwâl samândâta nahîn, bina lâthi deta nahîn.* "The Garhwâl Brâhman will give only when you stand over him with a cudgel."[1]

Gâra (*gârna*, "to bury").—A tribe of industrious cultivators practically confined to the Sahâranpur and Muzaffarnagar Districts. Of them Sir H. M. Elliot writes:[2]—"They are Musalmâns, and are frequently considered to be, like the Jhojhas, converted slaves. They themselves assert that they were formerly Sombansi Râjputs; that they came from Nagara Bambera, to the west of Delhi, and that Akbar located them in desert tracts, which have now been cleared by their industry. There seems reason to believe that they are the progeny of Râjput clans, because among themselves they have the sub-divisions of Bargûjar, Chauhân, etc., but there are also perhaps among them descendants of several inferior castes. All those on being converted to Muhammadanism, were called (perhaps contemptuously) Gâra, from the new practice they had adopted of burying, instead of burning, their dead. They now apply the term to themselves, but endeavour to disguise its origin by pretending to high birth. The Gâras generally intermarry in their own clan; but there is a set of villages in Sahâranpur, called Sayyid Gâra, from the fact of the daughters of Gâras marrying into

[1] Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 267, *sq.*
[2] *Supplementary Glossary*, *s.v.*

Sayyid families." The complete Census Returns name 51 sections. Some of them are local, such as Chaurasiya, Multâni; others are those of well-known castes and septs, such as Bargûjar, Bhâl, Bhatti, Chandela, Chauhân, Julâha, Pundîr, Râjput, Râthaur; others are purely Muhammadan, as Ansâri, Azîz, Bahlîm, Ghori, Mughal, Mughal-Bharsawa, Muhammadi, Shaikh, Shaikh Haidar, and Yâr Muhammad.

2. The Gâras are good cultivators, but very quarrelsome and litigious. This is recorded in the native proverb that a Gâra is as great a nuisance in a village as thorns in a field—*Gânw men Gâra; Khet men jhâra.*

Distribution of the Gâras according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	203	Mathura . . .	1
Sahâranpur . . .	45,768	Agra	2
Muzaffarnagar . .	5,053	Partâbgarh . . .	1
Meerut . . .	60	Total .	51,088

Garg; Gargbansi.—A sept of Râjputs. They represent themselves to be the descendants of the Rishi Garga who was the father of Sini, from whom, according to the Vishnu Purâna, the Gârgyas and Sainyas, "Brâhmans of Kshatriya race," were sprung. The statement of the Bhâgavata is that Gârgya from a Kshatriya became a Brâhman. With him we reach an age when the modern distinctions of caste were unknown. In the Gargbans are sometimes included the Chanamiya (*q. v.*). In Faizâbâd[1] the sept assert that their ancestor the Rishi was summoned from Kanauj by Râja Dasaratha to assist him in performing the horse sacrifice; others say that Vikramaditya sent for him from Kaikaides on his restoration to Ajudhya. In the Eastern Districts of the North-West Provinces[2] they are both Bhuînhârs and Chhatris, and in the latter caste they do not rank high.[3] Those of the Garg Bhuînhârs, whose blood has not been tainted by admixture with inferior races, take a fair rank among Bhuînhârs. There can be no doubt that both are of

[1] *Settlement Report*, 213.
[2] *Azamgarh Settlement Report*, 29, 57: Sir H. M. Elliot.
[3] *Supplementary Glossary, s. v. v. Garg Chanamiya.*

the same stock. One division of the Chhatri branch is called Surhaniya, from Surhan in Pargana Mahul of Azamgarh. In Faizabad they are reputed to be thieves. The Chhatri sept are generally regarded as Bais of inferior stock.

2. In Sultânpur they are reported to marry girls of Bilkhariya, Tashaiya, Chandauriya, Kath Bais, and Bhâlê Sultân, Panwâr, Chandel, Palwâr; and to give brides to the Tilokchandi Bais, Mainpuri Chauhâns, Sûrajbansi of Mâhul, Bisens of Majhauli, Râjkumâr, and Bachgoti. In Faizâbâd they marry Palwâr, Raghubansi and Chandel brides, and give girls to the Bachgoti, Sombansi, and Bais septs.

Distribution of the Gargbansi Râjputs according to the Census of 1895.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	4	Gorakhpur . . .	183
Agra . . .	5	Basti	524
Etah	1	Azamgarh . . .	3,462
Morâdâbâd . . .	46	Lucknow . . .	32
Cawnpur . . .	5	Râê Bareli . . .	1
Fatehpur . . .	1	Sîtapur . . .	3
Allahâbâd . . .	54	Faizâbâd . . .	3,193
Lalitpur . . .	4	Gonda . . .	132
Benares . . .	82	Bahrâich . . .	6
Jaunpur . . .	113	Sultânpur . . .	3,216
Ghâzipur . . .	5	Partâbgarh . . .	7
Ballia	74	Bârabanki . . .	25
		Total .	11,178

Gaur; Gauda.[1]—One of the five divisions of the Northern Brâhmans which make up what is known as the Pancha Gauda, as distinguished from the Pancha Dravira or Southern Brâhmans. There has been much controversy as to the origin of the name. The

[1] Largely based on notes by Pandit Râmgharîb Chaubê, the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Bijnor: Chaudhari Dhyân Sinh, Morâdâbâd.

tribal traditions all point to the ruined city of Gaur or Lakhnauti, in Mâlda, which was once the capital of Bengal, whence the story runs that they emigrated to the neighbourhood of Delhi in the time of the Pândavas. By another account they emigrated to Bengal on the invitation of Râja Agarsen, the eponymous founder of Agarwâla Banyas. The objections to this account of their origin are two-fold. In the first place their supposed emigration from east to west reverses the usual course of the Brâhmanical movements, and, secondly, it is difficult to understand how they could have passed through the intervening Brâhmanical tribes, such as the Sarwariya and Kanaujiya. This is not avoided by Mr. Colebrooke's supposition that Gauda was the name of a division of the country in the neighbourhood of the modern Patna. And still less probable is Sir G. Campbell's theory, that the name is derived from their residence on the banks of the Ghâghar, a tributary of the Sâraswati, the lost river of the Western India desert. Perhaps the most plausible explanation is that of General Cunningham, who writes :[1]—"These apparent discrepancies are satisfactorily explained when we learn that Gauda is only a sub-division of Uttara Kosila, and that the ruins of Srâvasti have actually been found in the district of Gauda, which is the Gonda of the Maps. I presume therefore that both the Gauda Brâhmans and the Gauda Tagas must have belonged to this district originally, and not to the mediæval city of Gauda in Bengal. Brâhmans of this name are still numerous in Ajudhya and Jahângîrâbâd, on the right bank of the Ghâghra river, in Gonda, Pâkhapur, and Jaisni, of the Gonda District, and in many parts of the neighbouring division of Gorakhpur." Our last Census Returns show the Gaur Brâhmans most numerous in the Meerut Division, and in decreasing numbers as we come through Rohilkhand and the lower Ganges-Jumna Duâb.

Divisions of the Gaur Brâhmans.

2. The divisions of this branch of the Brâhmans are very intricate, and the tribe itself is, as a rule, so illiterate and unintelligent, that it is very difficult to ascertain their tribal constitution. Dr. J. Wilson[2] divides them into eleven divisions :—

(1) The Gaudas or Kevala Gaudas, who are said to be Yajur Vedis, and to have their head-quarters at Hardwâr.

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[1] *Archæological Survey Reports*, I, 327 ; also see a long discussion on the Dravidian origin of the term in Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa*, 114, *sqq.*

[2] *Indian Castes*, II, 159, *sqq.*

(2) The Adi Gaudas or "original" Gaudas, who follow the white Yajur Veda, and are by sect Smârttas, Sâktas, or Vallabhachâryas.

(3) The Suklwâla, who are a branch of the Adi Gaudas and come from Jaypur. Of these there are two sections—Ojha and Joshi.

(4) The Sanâdhya, who have been separately enumerated at the last Census and form the subject of a special article.

(5) The Sri Gaudas or "honourable" Gaudas, of which one division is called Tamboli, and deals in betel leaf, and another Adi Sri Gauda, found at Delhi, Mathura, and Brindaban.

(6) The Gûjar or Gûrjjara Gaudas.

(7) The Tekbâra Gaudas.

(8) The Chamar Gaudas, who serve the Chamârs as priests.

(9) The Hariyâna Gaudas, who take their name from the country of Hariyâna, in the Hissâr and Rohtak Districts of the Panjâb.

(10) The Kirtâniya Gaudas, who wander about these Provinces and Rajputâna as singers, reciters, and players upon instruments.

(11) The Sukal Gaudas, who live by mendicity, accepting alms from Brâhmans, but not from Kshatriyas, Banyas, or people of other castes.

3. According to Sir H. M. Elliot the chief Gaur tribes in these Provinces are the Adi Gaur, Jugad Gaur, Kaithal Gaur, Gûjar Gaur, Dharam Gaur, and Siddh Gaur. A list obtained from a member of the tribe at Mirzapur makes them out to be divided into Gûjar Gaur, Dadhicha or Dâima, Sikhwâl, Pârikh, Khandelwâl or Adi Gaur, and Sâraswata. Of these the Dadhicha are classed by Dr. Wilson[1] among the Gujjara Brâhmans; the Pârikhas or Purohita Parikhas are the family priests of the Râjas of Jaypur, in whose territory they are especially abundant. "They claim to be descended from Vasishtha. When his hundred sons with their wives were destroyed through the jealousy of his rival Visvamitra, a son named Sava fell from the womb of one of these wives, who had Pârasara as his son, the father of Vyâsa." The Sârasvatas, again, are generally classed as distinct from the Gaur, and have been so recorded at the last Census.

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[1] *Indian Caste*, II, 117, 190.

The Dadhicha.

4. Adopting this classification, it may be noted that the Dadhicha of these provinces claim descent from Dadhicha, the son of Atharvan, who was son of Brahma. The story runs that Dadhyang or Dadhicha had a wife, Satya Prabha, who was left pregnant when her husband died. She tore her womb open, and taking out the child, which she laid at the foot of a *pîpal* tree, joined her husband in heaven. After some time she remembered her child and prayed to Mûl Devi or Sâkti, who promised that the child should be incarnated out of a human skull. From being laid beside the *pîpal* tree he came to be known as Pippalayana, and begot twelve sons, who were the ancestors of the twelve *gotras* of the tribe. Each of these sons had twelve sons, and from these one hundred and forty-four persons are named the sections (*al*). The following are the *gotras* and *als* as far as it is has been possible to ascertain their names :—

(1) Gautama *gotra* with sections—Patodya; Palod; Nahawâl; Kumbhya; Kanth; Badâdhara; Khatod; Badsaran; Bagadya; Bedwant; Banrasidara; Ledodya; Kakarah; Gagwâri, Bhuwâl; Disiyel; Masya; Mang.

(2) Vatsa *gotra* with sections—Ratâwa; Koliwâl; Baldawa; Rolaryân; Cholankhya; Jopat; Ithodya; Polgala; Nasara; Namawâl; Ajmera; Kukarân; Tararâyân; Abdig; Didiyil; Musya; Maug.

(3) Bharadwâja *gotra* with sections—Pedwâl; Sukl; Malodya; Asopadyaki; Barmota; Indokhwâl; Halsara; Bhatalya; Godiya; Solyarin.

(4) Bhârgava *gotra* with sections—Inaryân; Patharyân; Kasalya; Silrondya; Kurarawa; Jagodya; Khewar; Bisâwa; Ladrawân; Baragarân; Kadalawa; Kaprodya.

(5) Kavacha *gotra* with sections—Didwâryân; Malodya; Ghawarodya; Jatalya; Dobha; Murel; Maurjawâl; Sosi; Gotecha; Kudâl; Tretawâl.

(6) Kasyapa *gotra* with sections—Choraida; Dirolya; Jamawâl; Shergota; Rajthala; Barawa; Balaya; Chaulankhya.

(7) Sândilya *gotra* with sections—Rarawa; Bediya; Bed; Gotharawâl; Dahwâl.

(8) Asraya *gotra* with sections—Sulwâl; Yajrodya; Dubarya; Sukalya.

(9) Parâsara *gotra* with sections—Bhera; Parâsara.

(10) Kavala *gotra* with section—Chipara.

(11) Gorga *gotra*, with section—Talachhya.

(12) Mamraka *gotra* of which the sections have disappeared.

5. A list from Mirzapur gives the *gotras* and sections (*al*) of the Gûjar Gaur as follows :—

The Gûjar Gaur.

(1) Kausika *gotra* with sections—Jakhimo; Kurakyo; Tadukyo; Karadolya; Surolya; Modharyân; Sarsu; Guhadra; Katasala; Jirawalya.

(2) Kausika *gotra* with sections—Chahadhota; Gobalya; Nagavalya; Kaitha; Kalaitha; Tetrawa; Nilsanda; Kethuryân; Dudu.

(3) Vasishtha *gotra* with sections—Baghlida; Dughahasya; Khuraryân; Akodra; Jhujhrodyân; Rihdoliya; Pandurya; Sankhwat; Achraundya; Laiwâl; Poparudyân; Rachhtinari; Khiyaryân; Phaguryân.

(4) Sândilya *gotra* with sections—Nausalya; Pachaswa; Gâlswa; Jajpura; Nanera; Kathoriwâl; Sânpa; Jhamkolya; Karauriwâl; Kusumbhiwâl.

(5) Kausika *gotra* with sections—Bhairjwâl; Kânoilya; Naugra; Dughdolya; Gumtaryân; Adharûpa; Jodha; Harkhahi; Jastaryân.

(6) Bharadwâja *gotra* with sections—Pisa; Gauryân; Jagala; Raurinja; Bapraundya; Lâd; Kalbadra; Silaura; Jigaryân; Chitaryân; Gugauryân; Pijuryân; Kajaura; Gauhandya; Bagda.

(7) Gautama *gotra* with sections—Bhawânlya; Jajada; Bijaryân; Thinksara; Bilovaryân; Pandaita; Dikhat; Bilu; Umtaryân; Mandovasya.

(8) Kasyapa *gotra* with sections—Bararaila; Rewal; Gunwâl; Sanbharya; Bajagya; Thariwâl; Lohdolya; Aimalya; Sajiganwa; Dewalya; Jâjandya; Matâryân; Rajdolya; Rihdolya.

(9) Vatsa *gotra* with sections—Kântra; Bachh; Kaimalya; Chatsuwa; Dodwadra; Vyâs; Ghil; Gutaradya; Paiwâl; Chanwadra; Didwaryân; Chhichhâwata; Palhat; Chulhat; Suraulya; Rainhata; Sarsuda; Khinwasara; Chhadak; Bagada.

(10) Atrima *gotra* with sections—Bardundhya; Bagherwâl; Akodra; Karaudiwâl; Priyalauja; Babherwâl; Dabhadra; Kunjaudra; Ichharmarua.

(11) Muhrila *gotra* with sections—Surtaryân; Bhutâryan, Dhamauntya; Thâwalya, Lohawa; Bamhaurya; Kundera; Gadaryân; Raiswâl; Kunjodra; Muth; Pipalya.

(12) Parasara *gotra* with sections—Khataud; Daigya; Pahadra; Narâryân; Kuchila; Baresura; Kachraudya; Dewalya; Dobarhatta; Gumataryân.

(13) Garga *gotra* with sections—Gudnâda; Kacharya; Ladaryân; Laiwâl; Bhangdolya, Ukhairwâl.

Marriage.

6. Gaur Brâhmans are, as a rule, endogamous, but they are singularly liberal in their views as contrasted with the Kanaujiya, and as in Bihâr, where the groups consist of limited numbers, they have commenced to intermarry with the Sâraswata. In other repsects they practise the ordinary rule of exogamy common to other Brâhmans. When the bride is introduced into the house of her husband there is a solemn *confarreatio* rite known as *dûdhabhâti*. Their domestic ceremonies are of the usual orthodox type.

Distribution of the Gaur Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	1,904	Budâun . . .	7,174
Sahâranpur . . .	40,821	Morâdâbâd . . .	28,024
Muzaffarnagar . .	37,786	Shâhjahânpur . .	1,150
Meerut . . .	94,723	Pilibhît . . .	2,625
Bulandshahr . .	77,132	Cawnpur . . .	4,473
Aligarh . . .	25,179	Fatehpur . . .	377
Mathura . . .	24,630	Bânda . . .	183
Agra	3,792	Hamîrpur . . .	817
Farrukhâbâd . .	1,613	Allahâbâd . . .	1,236
Mainpuri . . .	1,559	Jhânsi . . .	486
Etâwah . . .	1,313	Jâlaun . . .	94
Etah	1,485	Lalitpur . .	199
Bareilly . . .	7,289	Benares . . .	3,179
Bijnor . . .	24,969	Mirzapur . . .	2,267

Distribution of the Gaur Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number
Jaunpur . . .	463	Râê Bareli . . .	117
Ghâzipur . . .	245	Sîtapur . . .	1,452
Ballia	1,224	Hardoi . . .	332
Gorakhpur . . .	672	Kheri	2,235
Basti	876	Faizâbâd . . .	802
Kumaun . . .	40	Gonda . . .	328
Garhwâl . . .	1,987	Bahrâich . . .	2,146
Tarâi	2,567	Sultânpur . . .	112
Lucknow . . .	1,062	Partâbgarh . . .	83
Unâo . . .	377	Bârabanki . . .	346
		Total .	414,082

Gaur.—A sept of Râjputs who are supposed to take their name from the kingdom of Gauda, in Bengal; but as shown in the articles on Gaur Brâhmans, their name may be derived from Gauda, the modern Gonda in Northern Oudh. Colonel Tod[1] ranks them among the thirty-six royal races and remarks:—"The tribe was once respected in Rajasthân, though it never attained to any considerable eminence. The ancient kings of Bengal were of this race, and gave their name to the capital Lakhnauti. We have every reason to believe that they were possessors of the land afterwards occupied by the Chauhâns, as they are styled in the old Chronicles, The Gaur of Ajmer. Repeated mention is made of them in the wars of Prithivi Râja as leaders of considerable renown, one of whom formed a small state in the centre of India, which survived through seven centuries of Mughal domination, till it at length fell a prey indirectly to the successes of the British over the Marhattas, when Sindhiya in 1809 annihilated the power of the Gaur and took possession of his capital Sûpar." He gives the five *sâkha* of the Gaur as Untahir, Silhala, Tunwar, Dasena, and Budâno.

[1] *Annals*, I, 124.

The Gaurs of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

2. According to Sir H. M. Elliot[1] they fall into three sub-divisions, the Bhat Gaur, Bâhman Gaur, and Chamar Gaur, names derived from some intercourse with Bhâts, Brâhmans, and Chamârs. "To these are sometimes added the Katheriya Gaur, descended from a Katheri; or carpenter. But it may be doubted if the Katheriya are really Gaurs. No argument, however, can be derived from the fact that daughters of Gaurs marry in Katheriya families, because the Chamar Gaur and Bâhman Gaur also intermarry." The Katheriya really take their name from Katehar, the old name of Rohilkhand. "The Chamar Gaur, who are divided into Râja and Râê, rank the highest," which is accounted for by the legend already given in the special article on that sept. In Farrukhâbâd[2] they call themselves Râthauriya, and are said to have come from Shâhjahânpur under the brothers Sârhê and Bârhê. Each received a Chaurâsi or block of eighty-four villages. Bârhê's descendants chiefly settled in the country now forming the Pargana of Shamsâbâd West, while Sârhê kept to the south in Shamsâbâd East and Bhojpur. The Etâwah branch say they came from Sûpar in the west as early as 650 A.D., having expelled the Meos, and they allege that their power was broken by the Banâphar heroes, Alha and Udal, early in the 12th Century.[3]

The Gaurs of Oudh.

3. As regards the Gaurs of Oudh, the Hardoi tradition[4] runs that Kuber Sâh Gaur was deputed by Jay Chand of Kanauj to collect tribute from Thatheras. While he was at Kanauj twin sons were born to him. Of these the Brâhmans in attendance on the Thathera chief predicted that they would achieve greatness and expel him from his kingdom. To avert such disaster the Thathera Chief ordered the babes to be done away with; and the Brâhmans, giving out that if Kuber Sâh should return and look upon his children's faces he would die, caused them to be buried alive. Hardly had the deed been done when Kuber Sâh returned, heard the evil news, and had the babes dug up. Both were still alive. One of them had lost an eye and was hence named Kâna,—"one-eyed." The other was

[1] *Supplementary Glossary, s. v.*
[2] *Settlement Report*, 13.
[3] *Census Report, 1865, I*, App. 84.
[4] *Settlement Report*, 100.

named Anâi or Pakhni,—"under the wall." From them are sprung the Kâna and Anâi or Pakhni sub-divisions of the Gaurs. One family in Unâo[1] profess to hold their lands by virtue of a grant from the Emperor Bâbar. They are Bâhman Gaurs of the Modal *gotra*. There is another colony of Gaurs in Pargana Harba, who are claimed by the others as an offshoot from themselves. They also are Bâhman Gaurs of the same *gotra*, but give a different account of their origin. According to them Banthar was formerly inhabited by a race of Gaddis or cow-herds who lived by the pasturage and paid an annual tribute of ghi to the Government. One year, whether with intent to defraud or to show their insubordination, they filled the vessels in which the tribute was sent with cowdung and covered it over with a small quantity of ghi. The fraud was discovered at court, and Gorapdes Gaur, who held a military command at Delhi, was directed to raise a body of followers and extirpate the offenders. After performing this service, he received a grant of the conquered villages and settled there with his clan.

Religion.

4. In the village of Dudhâwal, in the Lucknow[2] District, stands a *pîpal* tree, and there is a small monument, a memorial of the place where the Bâhman Gaur widows used to perform *sati*, to which the Bâhman Gaur to this day bring offerings for the old family priests of their tribe on the occasion of a marriage or any other solemn ceremony in their house.

5. In Sîtapur they appear usually to give brides to the Tomar and Ahban septs, and to take brides from the Bâchhal, Janwâr, and occasionally from the Ahban. In Farrukhâbâd the Katheriya Gaur give their daughters to the Sombansi, Bais, and Bamtelê, and receive girls from the Chandel and Kaithiya septs. In Hamîrpur they give brides to the Chauhân, Bhadauriya, Kachhwâha, Parihâr, Chandel, Râthaur, and Chamar Gaur, and take wives from the Dikhit, Nandwâni, and Bais. In Hardoi they claim to belong to the Bharadwâja *gotra*, marry girls of the Raikwâr, Chandel, Dhâkrê, Janwâr, Kachhwâha, and Gaharwâr septs, while they give wives to the Sombansi, Chauhân, Pramâr, Râthaur, Dhâkrê, Nikumbh, and Raikwâr.

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[1] Elliott, *Chronicles*, 52.
[2] *Settlement Report*, LII.

Distribution of the Gaur Rájputs according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Numbers.	Districts.	Numbers.
Sahâranpur . . .	102	Jhânsi	1,083
Muzaffarnagar . .	132	Jâlaun	1,816
Meerut . . .	958	Lalitpur . . .	565
Bulandshahr . . .	3,063	Benares . . .	12
Aligarh . . .	147	Jaunpur . . .	31
Mathura . . .	1,053	Ghazipur . . .	1
Agra	465	Ballia	7
Farrukhâbâd . .	4,741	Gorakhpur . . .	184
Mainpuri . . .	1,908	Azamgarh . . .	1
Etâwah . . .	3,224	Tarâi	29
Etah	2,804	Lucknow . . .	269
Bijnor	65	Unâo	1,847
Budâun . . .	6,123	Râê Bareli . . .	472
Morâdâbâd . . .	2,442	Sîtapur . . .	4,536
Shâhjahânpur . .	2,531	Hardoi . . .	11,687
Pilibhît . . .	323	Kheri	1,145
Cawnpur . . .	13,246	Faizâbâd . . .	23
Fatehpur . . .	1,663	Bahrâich . . .	39
Bânda	1,477	Sultânpur . . .	86
Hamîrpur . . .	1,770	Partâbgarh . . .	385
Allahâbâd . . .	197	Bârabanki . . .	216
		Total .	72,850

Gaurahar.—A small Râjput sept found in Rohilkhand and the borders of Aligarh. They are supposed to be descended from the Chamar Gaur, and it is sometimes added, by way of reproach, that they have a little Ahîr blood in their veins. They trace their origin

to Kainûr in the west, whence they say they came to serve the Emperors of Delhi.[1]

Gauriya; Bangâli Gusâîn.—A Vaishnava order of recent origin. This community "has had a more marked influence on Brindaban than any of the others, since it was Chaitanya, the founder of the sect, whose immediate disciples were its first temple builders. He was born at Nadiya, in Bengal, in 1485 A.D., and in his youth is said to have married a daughter of Vallabhachârya. However that may be, when he had arrived at the age of twenty-four he formally resigned all connection with secular and domestic affairs and commenced his career as a religious teacher. After spending six years in pilgrimage between Mathura and Jagannâth he finally settled down at the latter place, where, in 1527 A.D., being then only forty-two years old, he disappeared from the world. There is reason to believe that he was drowned in the sea, into which he had walked in an ecstacy, mistaking it for the shallow waters of the Jamuna, where he saw in a vision Krishna sporting with the Gopis. His life and doctrines are recorded in a most voluminous Bengâli work entitled Chaitanya Charitâmrita, composed in 1590 by one of his disciples Krishna Dâs. Two of his colleagues Adwaitanand and Nityanand, who like himself are styled Mahâ Prabhus, presided over his establishments in Bengal, while other six Gusâîns settled at Brindaban. Apart from metaphysical subtleties, which naturally have but little hold on the minds of the populace, the special tenet of the Bengali Vaishnavas is the all-sufficiency of faith in the divine Krishna; such faith being adequately expressed by the mere repetition of his name without any added prayer or concomitant feeling of genuine devotion. Thus roughly stated, the doctrine appears absurd; and possibly its true bearing is as little regarded by many of the more ignorant among the Vaishnavas themselves, as it is by the majority of superficial outside observers. It is, however, a legitimate deduction from sound principles; for it may be presumed that the formal act of devotion would never have been commenced, had it not been prompted at the outset by a devotional intention, which intention is virtually continued so long as the act is in performance. The sectarial mark consists of two white perpendicular streaks down the forehead united at the root of the nose and continued to near the tip. Another characteristic is the use of a

[1] Elliot, *Supplementary Glossary, s.v.*: *Gazetteer, North-West Provinces*, VI, 41.

rosary of one hundred and eight beads made of the wood of the *tulasi*."[1]

2. The order takes its name from the city of Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal, which now lies a mass of ruins in the Mâlda District.

Distribution of the Gauriya Gusâins according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Numbers.
Bulandshahr . . .	9	Bahrâich . . .	70
Cawnpur . . .	2	Bârabanki . . .	34
Kheri . . .	283		
Gonda . . .	34	Total .	432
Males	246	Females . . .	186

Gaurua.—Hardly the name of a special Râjput sept, but a general term applied to those Râjputs who have lost rank by the practice of widow-marriage (*karâo*). Those to the west of the Jumna are said to have emigrated from Jaypur about nine hundred years ago. In Mathura some call themselves Kachhwâha, others Jasâwat, others again Sisodiya. Towards Delhi they are said to be particularly quarrelsome, but sturdy in build and clannish in disposition.[2]

Gautam.—A sept of Râjputs who claim as their eponymous ancestor the Rishi Gautama. They are usually treated as one of the Chandrabans, but not in the thirty-six royal races. Their original home is Fatehpur, and they claim to have been originally Brâhmans, the descendants of the Rishi Gautama. By another account they are descended from the Rishi Siringi. The descendant in the sixth degree from Gautama is said to have married the daughter of Ajaypâl, the Gaharwâr Râja of Kanauj, and to have received as her dowry the whole extent of the country from Prayâg (Allahâbâd) to Hardwâr. From this event the sept ceased to be Brâhmans and became Râjputs; the issue of the marriage took the

[1] Growse, *Mathura*, 133, *sq.*

[2] Elliot, *Supplementary Glossary, s. v.*: Growse, *Mathura*, 12: Ibbetson, *Panjâb Ethnography*, para. 446.

title of Râja of Argal, a village in the ravines of the River Rind, about thirty miles west of Fatehpur.[1] Sir H. M. Elliot[2] distrusts the story of their connection with Siringi Rishi or with the Gaharwârs, because it is, in the first place, impossible that Siringi Rishi could have been the contemporary of any Gaharwâr Râja; and in the second place, it is highly improbable that the Gaharwârs could have preceded the occupation of the Gautams. Nevertheless the story is devoutly believed by many Gautams. In Oudh[3] they were certainly very early settlers. They claim to be an offshoot from the Argal Râj, but their traditions as to the cause and manner of their occupancy are too faint and varying for record. In the Eastern Districts of the Province[4] there is both a Chhatri and a Bhuînhâr branch: the former ignore the latter, and say that they themselves came from Argal. The Bhuînhârs allege that they are all one stock of Sarwariya Brâhmans, the Chhatris having assumed their present caste only when the ancestor of the Râja of Azamgar became a Muhammadan and rose into power. In the Ayîn-i-Akbari they are described as zamîndârs in Pargana Nizâmâbâd. The Cawnpur branch is said to have emigrated from Argal four and-a-half centuries ago, and to have expelled the Arakhs.

2. The Sakyas of Kapilavastu also reckoned the saint Gautama among their forefathers, and they are represented by the existing Gautamiyâs.[5] These Gautamiyas are an inferior branch. They seem to be Gautams, who from the low marriages of their daughters or other reasons have fallen from a higher status or Chhatris of inferior stock who have adopted the patronymic of the more famous clan. The real Gautams hold a respectable rank among Râjputs. Those of the Eastern Districts give their daughters in marriage to the Sombansi, Bachgoti, Bhandhalgoti, Rajwâr, and Râjkumâr. Those of the Duâb give their daughters to the Bhadauriya, Kachhwâha, Râthaur, Gahlot, Chauhân, and Tomar. To the east they marry their daughters in the Sirnet, Bisen, Gaharwâr, Sûrajbansi, Baghel, and Chandel septs, and take brides from the Kalhans, Palwâr, Rajkumâr, Kausik, Chauhân, and Sengar. In Fatehpur they give their daugh-

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[1] F. S. Growse, *Indian Antiquary*, XV., 260, *sq.*

[2] *Supplementary Glossary*, *s. v.*

[3] Elliot, *Chronicles of Unao*, 34.

[4] Oldham, *Ghâzipur Memo.* I. 59: *Azamgarh Settlement Report*, 54, *sq.*

[5] Duncker, *History of Antiquity* IV, 336 *sqq.*: Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II, 458.

ters to the Chauhân, Parihâr, Bhadauriya, Kachhwâha, and Jâdon septs, and marry wives from the Bais, Panwâr, Dikhit, Sombansi, Chandel, Bisen, and Khichi. In Bundelkhand they especially worship Gajpati Râê Durga at the Naurâtra of Kuâr and Chait. Nothing but a sword is kept in the temple, and it is worshipped with prayers and offerings of sandalwood, rice, perfumes, incense, and lamps. On the first lunar day of Kuâr a decorated jar (*kalsa*) is placed in her temple, and ten Pandits, sitting round it, recite the praises of Durga Devi: a buffalo and a he-goat are daily sacrificed during the feast. On the ninth day twenty or more buffaloes and fifty or sixty he-goats are sacrificed. None but a Gautam can perform this sacrifice; and only a man of the Bargâh caste, who are the hereditary servants of the clan, is allowed to hold the victim. Before offering the sacrifice the sacred sword is worshipped. On the last day (*naumân*) the Râja himself offers the sacrifice. The heads of the victims are buried deep in the ground, but the goat-meat is regarded as holy (*prasâd*) and divided among the worshippers. Only Chamârs eat the meat of the buffaloes offered to the goddess. It is believed that if anyone but a Râja perform this sacrifice, he will be destroyed root and branch.

3. In Lucknow they worship a tribal saint Bâba Nahuk, of Nigohan, and burn a light daily at his shrine.[1]

Distribution of the Gautam Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Districts.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.
Dehra Dûn .	1	...	Farrukhâbâd .	75	...
Sahâranpur .	8	...	Mainpuri . .	217	5
Muzaffarnagar .	5	...	Etâwah . .	16	...
Meerut . .	13	...	Etah . .	57	...
Bulandshahr .	73	2	Bareilly . .	755	4
Aligarh . .	26	...	Budâun . .	7,730	2
Mathura . .	3	...	Morâdâbâd .	1,377	12
Agra . .	30	...	Shâhjahânpur .	843	...

[1] *Oudh Gazetteer*, III, 31.

Distribution of the Gautam Râjputs according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Districts.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.
Pilibhît . .	178	43	Azamgarh . .	6,248	223
Cawnpur . .	4,964	1	Tarâi . .	3	...
Fatehpur . .	11,513	1,833	Lucknow . .	1,785	8
Bânda . .	2,880	45	Unâo . .	2,691	7
Hamîrpur . .	2,129	...	Râê Bareli . .	3,348	23
Allahâbâd . .	854	...	Sîtapur . .	151	361
Jhânsi . .	21	1	Hardoi . .	235	...
Jâlaun . .	110	...	Kheri . .	534	714
Lalitpur . .	4	...	Faizâbâd . .	849	...
Benares . .	2,293	92	Gonda . .	530	129
Mirzapur . .	2,772	...	Bahrâich . .	240	20
Jaunpur . .	3,694	19	Sultânpur . .	1,192	84
Ghâzipur . .	7,777	238	Partâbgarh .	990	10
Ballia . .	8,467	...	Bârabanki . .	430	5
Gorakhpur . .	2,610	411			
Basti . .	5,204	778	Total .	6,925	5,198
			GRAND TOTAL	82,123	

Gharûk.—A sub-caste of Kahârs, but they have now so completely separated from the parent stock that they may be most conveniently treated as an absolutely distinct group. Their only vague tradition is that they are the descendants of the Pândavas, and they allege that there is a temple at Hastinapur dedicated to Kâli Durga, at which they worship. They have a tribal council (*Panchâyat*) presided over by a chairman (*mahant*) who is elected by the members of the caste. They do not marry in the families of their maternal uncle, father's sister, and mother's sister. They can marry two sisters, but not at the same time. Polygamy is permitted to an unlimited extent. Incontinence before marriage is seriously dealt with, and the girl's parents have to pay a fine to the tribal council, and so has the man who subsequently marries her. Divorce is allowed, and divorced women may remarry by the lower form:

such wives are called *urhari*. Widows can marry again, and the levirate is allowed under the usual restrictions.

2. Their domestic ceremonies are of the normal type. They live much in fear of ghosts, demons, and the Evil Eye, the effects of which are removed by the sorcerer. Their oath is by the Ganges. Their chief object of worship is Kâli Durga. They drink spirits, but will not eat pork, beef, fowls, or vermin. They abstain from meat and wine during the fortnight in the month of Kuâr sacred to the sainted dead. They will not eat from the hands of low castes, like the Chamâr, Bhangi, or Pâsi; but they can eat from the hands of Brâhmans, Râjputs, and Bhurjis. Their chief occupation is fishing; some do a little cultivation; and they supply many of the bearers in the service of Europeans.

Ghasiya.—A Dravidian tribe found in the hill country of Mirzapur. They do not appear in the returns of the last Census, and it is now impossible to say among which of the allied Dravidian castes they were included. Under the name of Ghâsi they are found in the adjoining Bengal districts.[1] In Mandla one of their septs, Markâm, is the title of a sept of Gonds.[2] They extend as far as Bastar, where they are described as an inferior caste who serve as horsekeepers and also make and mend brass vessels. They dress like the Mariya Gonds, and subsist partly by cultivation and partly by labour.[3] Dr. Ball describes them in Singhbhûm as gold-washers and musicians.[4] Colonel Dalton speaks of them as an extraordinary tribe, foul parasites of the Central Indian hill tribes, and submitting to be degraded even by them. If the Chandâlas of the Purânas, though descended from the union of a Brâhmani and a Sûdra are "the lowest of the low," the Ghâsis are Chandâlas, and the people further south, who are called Pariahs, are no doubt of the same distinguished lineage. If, as I surmise, they were Aryan helots, their offices in the household or communities must have been of the lowest and most degrading kinds. It is to be observed that the institution of caste necessitated the organisation of a class to whom such offices could be assigned, and, when formed, stringent measures would be requisite to keep the servitors in their position.

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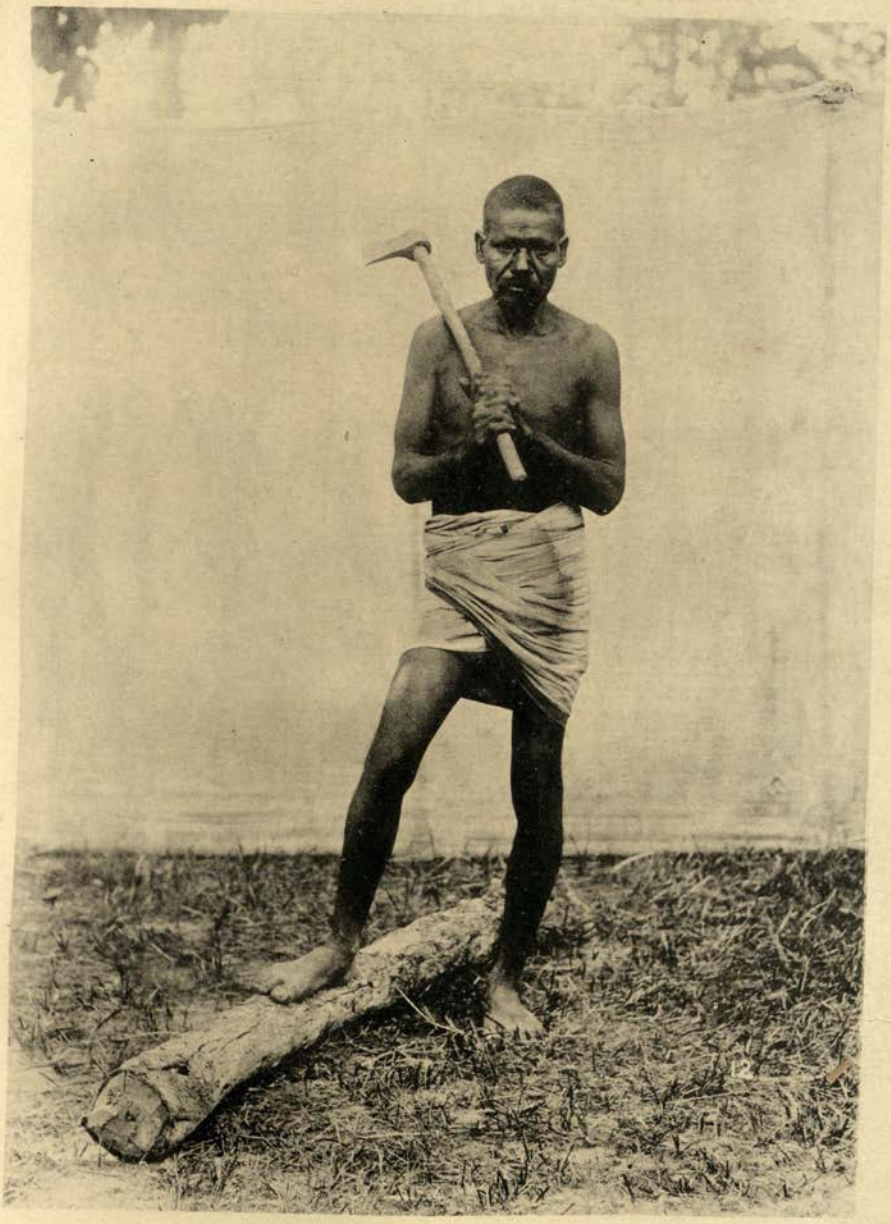
[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I, 277; Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 325.

[2] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 273.

[3] *Ibid*, 34.

[4] *Jungle Life*, 123.



GHASIYA.

We might thence expect that they would avail themselves of every opportunity to escape, and no safer asylums could be found than the retreats of the forest tribes.[1]" In the uncertainty that still prevails as to the connection between the forest tribes and the menial castes of Hindu society, it is premature to deny the possibility of this theory; but their totemistic system of septs and their appearance generally, which approximates closely to that of the tribes which surround them, point to the supposition that they are of local Dravidian origin and not refugees driven into the jungles before the advancing Aryans. The legend recorded by Colonel Tickell makes them of common origin with Kols, Bhuiyas, and Santâls.[2] The word Ghasiya appears to mean a grass-cutter. (Hindi *ghâs*, grass: Sanskrit *ghâsa*).

Tribal organisation.

2. There seems to be little doubt that the clear distinction which now prevails between the Ghasiya and the neighbouring tribes is of comparatively modern growth. A case recently occurred in which a Ghasiya adopted a Chero boy, and he has been readily received and married among them. Unlike many of the kindred tribes, the Ghasiyas in Mirzapur have retained a complete set of totemistic septs. These are seven in number. The first sept is the Khatangiya, which is said to mean "a man who fires a gun." This sept worship the matchlock. Then comes the Sunwân or Sonwân, who are the highest in rank. When any Ghasiya becomes impure, one of the Sunwân sept is said to take a little bit of gold (*sona*) and put it in a vessel of water, which he sprinkles on the impure person with a mango leaf. From this practice of using gold it is said that the tribe takes its name. It may more probably be connected with their business of gold-washing.[3] The Janta is said to take their name from the quern or flour-mill (*janta*). They have a story that a woman of the sept was delivered of a child while sitting at the mill, from which her descendants gained their name. The Bhainsa say they are descended from the godling (*deota*) Bhainsâsur,[4] whom they worship with the sacrifice of a young pig on the second of the light half of

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[1] *Descriptive Ethnology*, 325.

[2] *Ibid*, 885.

[3] See the reference to Dr. Ball in para. 1.

[4] This is the modern representative of the buffalo demon Mahisha or Mahishâsura, who, according to various legends, was killed by Karttikeya, Skanda or Durga. The last Census records 13,141 persons as worshippers of Bhainsâsur.

Kârttik. Of the Simariya or Simarlokwa sept there is a curious legend which explains their abhorrence of Kâyasths, and is told in an imperfect form by Mr. Risley. The Mirzapur version runs that once upon a time a Ghasiya was groom (*sais*) to a Kâyasth. One day he went with his master's son for a ride in the jungle. They came to a very large and deep well: the boy dismounted and looked into it. The Ghasiya said,—"Let us both look down and see whose reflection looks best in the water." Then the Ghasiya pitched the boy into the water. The boy was hurt, but managed to hold on to the side of the well. He called out to the Ghasiya,—"You have played a vile trick on me, but as we are old friends I will give you something which will ensure your prosperity." So he took a piece of tile which lay in the well, and having scratched on it an account of what had happened, he gave it to the Ghasiya saying,—"Take this to my father, and he will give you a great reward." The foolish Ghasiya did as he was told, and when the Kâyasth read the message, he sent men to the well without the Ghasiya's knowledge. They found the boy dead. So the Kâyasth planned his revenge. One day he said to the Ghasiya, "As you have been my old and faithful servant, I intend to give a feast to your tribe." On the day of the Holi all the Ghasiyas—men, women, and children—collected. Then the Kâyasth said:—"There is a great cotton tree (*semal*) in the forest which I wish to cut in order to burn the old year (*Sambat*),[1] but not a bit of the wood or leaves must touch the ground, otherwise there will be no merit in the sacrifice, and you must bring the tree as it stands." So all the Ghasiyas stood under the tree and tried to hold it up as it was being cut, but it fell down and crushed them all. Only one pregnant woman escaped, who took refuge with a Panika. The Kâyasth tried to seize and kill her; but the Panika passed her off as his wife, and her descendants were called Simarlokwa, or "the people of the cotton tree," and to this day this sept eat with Panikas, and on each Holi festival throw out all their earthen vessels in memory of this tragedy and cherish a hereditary hatred of Kâyasths.[2] The Koiya sept have a legend that a Ghasiya was servant of a Gond Râja, and went out hunting with him. One day the Râja killed a wild

[1] For this custom, see *Biyâr*, para. 17.

[2] This story of a tribe recruited from a single pregnant woman who escaped the general destruction is common; see the legend of Orandeo, the progenitor of the Chandel Râjputs, and that of the Chamar Gaur tribe.

dog (*Koiya, Cuon rutilans*) and persuaded the Ghasiya to eat it; whence this contemptuous title clung to his descendants. The Markâm sept take their name from the tortoise. This is also a sept among the Gonds.[1] One day a Ghasiya crossed a river in a boat. The floods arose and he was unable to return, when a tortoise took him on his back and carried him across. Hence the sept worship the tortoise. The Bengal Ghâsis have a Kachhua (tortoise) and a Simarloka or cotton tree sept.[2] These septs are exogamous, and hypergamy is so far practised that the Sunwân is the most respectable of all, and marriage alliances with that sept are much desired. The Mirzapur Ghasiyas are very vague in their traditions: some fix their head-quarters at a place cattled Koriya in Sarguja, others say they come from Nâgpur, others from Singrauli, in Mirzapur. In Sarguja there is said to be a mountain called Didûnkûra, in which there resides a deity called Janta Deo, whose only representative is a stone in the form of a flour-mill (*janta*). He is said to have some connection with the sept of that name, and many Ghasiyas worship him through a Baiga.

3. The Ghasiyas have a very powerful tribal council (*panchâyat*). The president (*mahto*) is always a member of the Sunwân sept. The post is hereditary; but if there is any dispute about it, a reference is made to the Râja of Sarguja. The council deals with three classes of cases—*Kankati*, *Phûlpari*, and *Zinakâri*. *Kankati* or "ear cutting" is when any woman in a squabble gets the lobe of her ear, in which thick palm-leaf ornaments (*tarki*) are worn, torn. It is believed that any woman who gets into a *mêlée* of this kind is a shrew, and if it is proved before the council that her ear was torn, she is put out of caste. She is not restored till her friends give a three days' feast of goat's meat and rice and a fourth of butter cakes (*pûri*) and liquor. *Phûlpari* is when any one gets on his body any white mark or scab of the nature of leprosy, or has a wound or sore which breeds maggots. Such persons are put out of caste, because it is believed that such diseases are a punishment for serious crimes committed in a previous life. In such cases the fine is five goats and two days' rice for the clansmen. After this the Sonwân Mahto purifies the offender as already described. *Zinakâri* embraces all offences

The tribal council.

[1] See *Majhwâr*, para. 3.

[2] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II, App. 46.

against morality. In adultery or incest cases the fine consists of a certain number of goats and rations of rice according to the means of the offender; and, in addition, he has to give, as a special fee, to the Mahto, a water vessel (*lota*), tray (*thāli*), turban (*pagri*), jacket (*kurta*), and loin cloth (*dhoti*).

Exogamy.

4. As already stated, the septs are exogamous, but the only additional provision is that the children of a sister are barred, while marriage with the children of the mother's brother (*māmu*), and father's sister are allowed.

Marriage rules.

5. If a man takes to shoe-making, no one will marry in his family, and the making of drums (*māndar*) is also thought a low occupation. Polygamy is allowed, and the number of wives depends on a man's means. Few have more than one. Polyandry is unknown. If a girl is caught in an intrigue with a stranger, the father has to give two dinners: one *pakki* (or food cooked in butter) and one *kachchi* (or plain) with five goats and a still of liquor. They practise adult marriage, men being married at eighteen or twenty and girls at fifteen or sixteen. The marriage is arranged by the Mahto, who gets as his fee a turban and Re. 1-4 in cash. All marriages are supposed to take place with the consent of the parents; but as a matter-of-fact the parties often arrange their matches, and if a girl fancies a young man, all she has to do is to give him a kick on the leg at the tribal dance of the Karama, and then the parents think it as well to hasten on the wedding.[1] In fact, it seems often to be the case that the man is allowed to try the girl first and if she suits him, and seems likely to be fertile, he marries her.[2] The bride-price is twelve rupees in cash, two cloths, one for the bride and one for her mother, and ten bottles of liquor. This is an invariable rule. If after marriage the husband becomes insane, impotent, blind, or leprous, his wife may leave him; but no fault of this kind in the wife will justify the husband in discarding her. Mistakes of this kind are provided against by the careful examination of each by the friends of the other previous to marriage.

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[1] For a similar custom among the Garos, see Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 64: Oraons, *ibid*, 248; Khandhs, *ibid* 300. Gonds, *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 277.

[2] On this see Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 530.

Divorce.

6. Divorces, or rather the putting away of wives, are uncommon, because intertribal immorality is thought little of, and the punishment on the relations of a woman for *liaison* with a stranger are so severe that women are looked after. Besides this nothing but the evidence of eye witnesses to the act of adultery is accepted. But it appears to be good tribal law that a woman may leave her husband if he intrigues with another woman.[1] In such case her parents can give her in *sagâi* to another man; but if they do so they must return the bride-price.

Widow-marriage and the levirate.

7. Women married in the regular way and those taken in *sagâi* rank equally, and both are known as *Suâsin*. Though there is a rule against concubinage, the children of a concubine are recognised as children of the father, and admitted to caste. When a man wants to take a widow, he goes to her father with a set of glass bangles (*chûri*), some red lead, a sheet, a boddice (*jhula*), and a set of ear-ornaments (*tarki*). The father says:—"All right! Put on the things." Then she touches them all, and takes them inside the house, where the other women decorate her with them. Next morning the father makes a pretence of pushing her out of the house as a disgrace to her family, and then she goes off with her husband. When he comes home, he feasts a few clansmen, and returns to her younger brother-in-law the bride-price. A widow can marry an outsider only if the levir refuse to have her. She leaves behind her all the children by her first husband save a child at the breast. If she takes a young child away with her, her first husband's brother gives her a cloth every year for her trouble in taking care of it. There is no pretence of attributing the children of the levir to his elder brother.

Adoption.

8. They have some vague adoption rules in imitation of their Hindu neighbours. There is no religious sentiment in the matter, and when a man does adopt, he takes his brother's son, the son of the elder brother being preferred. An adopted son does not lose his rights in the estate of his natural father.

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[1] This power, it may be noted, is debarred to the Hindu wife. Manu, *Institutes*, V, 154.

Beena marriage.

9. Beena marriage known as *gharjaiyán* is common; in this case the period of probation is one year, during which the son-in-law works for his father-in-law, and is entitled to maintenance; but has no right to inherit from his estate.

Succession.

10. Tribal offices are hereditary. When an old Baiga is giving up office he goes with his son to the village shrine (*deohár*) with two fowls, which he makes his son sacrifice. Then he is considered to have abdicated his functions. The sons are a man's heirs, and primogeniture so far prevails that the eldest son gets a tenth more than the others. In a joint family the sons can claim partition *inter vivos*: the sons get each the same share as their father, and his share is divided at his death. A widow, if she remain unmarried, which is unusual, is entitled to maintenance; but can be expelled for unchastity. A daughter has no rights; but if she becomes a widow or leaves her husband she is entitled to maintenance in her father's house until she remarries and as long as she remains chaste. A sonless mother, too, has a life interest in her husband's estate. She may spend something in charity, but not waste the inheritance. If there are no sons, the associated brothers succeed; a sister or her sons never succeed.

Relationship.

11. The system of relationship is the same as among the Kols. They remember the names of male and female ancestors for three or four generations.

Birth ceremonies.

12. When a woman is ascertained to be pregnant, they invoke the marriage god Dulha Deo in the words—"If you cause the woman's child to be born without trouble, we will give you an offering." The offering to him is a goat and a red cock. The woman is delivered on the ground facing east. When the child is born the Chamâin midwife is called in, and she cuts the cord and buries it in the place the child was born, over which she lights a fire into which she puts a bit of iron and copper to keep off evil spirits. While the cord is being cut, the women of the clan sing the Sohar or song of rejoicing. For three days the mother gets nothing but a decoction of herbs.[1] On the third day she is given a decoction of the root of the Khajûr palm (*Phœnix dactylifera*) and of the *sarpat* grass (*Saccharum procerum*)

[1] This is also the rule among the Birhors. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 219.

mixed up in a ball with some of the *mangrail* seed (*nigella indica*), ginger (*sonth*), coarse sugar, and the long pepper (*pipal*). Part of this dose is drunk by the husband, probably a survival of the couvade. On the sixth day (*chhathi*) the midwife bathes the mother and child, and the barber's wife cuts the nails of all the women in the family, and colours their feet with lac dye (*mahâwar*). The Dhobi takes all the clothes to the wash, and the barber shaves all the men. On that day the husband's sister (*nanad*) cleans the delivery room (*saur*) and receives a present, generally a calf, for her trouble. On the twelfth day is the *barahi*: the child's head is shaved, the mother is bathed by her sister-in-law, and the barber's wife cuts her nails and colours her feet with lac dye. She puts on clean clothes and she cooks for the household and a few clansmen.

Puberty ceremonies.

13. As usual among these tribes the ear-boring (*kanchhedan*), which is done for boys and girls at the age of eight or nine on a lucky day fixed by the Mahto, represents their introduction into caste and their abstention from food cooked by a stranger.

Marriage ceremonies.

14. The father of the boy inspects the girl, and when he is satisfied, he sends the Mahto, who completes the negotiations. The girl is produced before him and her father says:—"I intend giving you to the son of so-and-so. Are you satisfied?" Generally the girl agrees, but sometimes she refuses. In the latter case the affair ends. If she agrees a date is fixed for the betrothal (*sukhdan*), when the boy's father, accompanied by the Mahto, makes over to the girl's father seven rupees in cash, ten bottles of liquor, a set of glass bangles (*chûri*), some red lead, a set of ear ornaments (*tarki*), some oil, and five *sers* of butter cakes (*pûri*). Then the fathers exchange platters of liquor as described among Bhuiyas (*para.* 13). A marriage shed is erected at both houses containing nine bamboos on the sides and a pole of *siddh* wood (*Hardwickia binata*) in the centre. Near this is placed a jar (*kalsa*) full of water covered with a lamp saucer with a burning wick surrounded with some *urad* pulse. Then follows the *matmangara* ceremony as described among Bhuiyas (*para.* 14). The mother of the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, stands near the Baiga and throws the border of her sheet over him as he digs the earth. He passes five handfuls to her over his shoulder, and some maiden of the tribe brings it in the corner of her sheet and places it in the

marriage shed, and lays the sacred water jar over it. On that day the anointing begins (*hardi uthna*). It is begun by the Brâhman, who takes up a little turmeric and oil with a bunch of the holy *dûb* grass and sprinkles it over the bride and bridegroom. Then the women relatives anoint them vigorously, and this is done five times a day for three days. On the day the procession starts, the mother does the *imli ghotna* "or mixing of the tamarind," as described among Bhuiyas (*para.* 14). Then she warns her son to behave nicely to the relatives of the bride, not to take it ill if they play jokes on him. "If you lose your temper your marriage will not come off." After this she kisses him on the head and sends him off accompanied by music. As they approach the bride's village, her friends come out to meet them (*agwâni*), and at the bride's door her mother waves over his head for good luck a rice pounder (*mûsar*), some cowdung and seed of the cotton tree (*semal*). After this they retire to the place arranged for them (*janwânsa*), and the bride's father goes there and washes their feet and invites them to dinner with the words *aiyas! aiyas!* Then the marriage is done. The bridegroom comes, and, in the form of marriage by capture, drags out the faintly resisting bride into the courtyard. They walk seven times round the branch of the *siddh* tree, and each time as they pass, her brother pours a handful of parched rice into the fold (*khoinchha*) of the bride's sheet, then the Brâhman puts five pinches of red lead (*sendur*) into the hand of the boy, who rubs it on the parting of the bride's hair. After this her sister-in-law (*bhaujai*) comes and wipes off as much of the dust as she can into her own sheet, and gets a present of four annas. They then go into the retiring room (*kohabar*), and there each of them fills with rice a little earthen pot. If after filling it once the rice overflows the second time, it is an omen of good luck. The rice, it is needless to say, is pressed down the first time and then filled in loosely. After this, in direct opposition to the customs of the kindred tribes, the bridegroom at once carries off the bride to the *janvânsa*, where his clansmen are staying, and passes the night with her in a shed arranged for the purpose. Next day he takes her home. The day after they arrive, they go through the ceremony of drowning the water jar (*kalsa dubâna*) as already described among the Bhuiyas (*para.* 16). The binding part of this marriage ceremony (*charhauwa*) is the payment of the bride-price and the marking of the parting of the bride's hair with red lead.

Marriage by exchange.

15. They have also the form of marriage by exchange (*gurâwat*), when two persons agree to exchange sisters. Mr. Westermarck calls this "the simplest way of purchasing a wife."[1]

Death ceremonies.

16. Like all these tribes the Ghasiyas are very lax in the disposal of the dead. Many simply singe the face and throw the corpse into the jungle, where it is eaten by wild animals. Those who are more exposed to Hindu influence cremate the adult dead. The corpse is cremated on a pyre arranged near the bank of a stream: it is laid with the feet pointing south. The chief mourner walks five times round the pyre, and after throwing a small piece of gold on it sets it alight. After bathing he plants on the edge of the stream or tank a few stalks of the *jhurai* grass.[2] Returning home all the mourners wash their feet and then touch some oil in which a flower of any variety has been placed. After this they sit silent round the chief mourner for an hour. On the tenth day they go to the place where the grass has been planted and shave. On returning home the chief mourner presents a turban, jacket, and loin-cloth to the chief mourner, by whom the whole death ceremony is carried out. In the evening the clansmen are fed and the death impurity ceases.

Ancestor worship.

17. On the last day of the fortnight of the dead (*pitrapaksha*) in the month of Kuâr, they plaster a place under the eaves of the house, sprinkle some flowers there, and lay out five leaf platters (*dauna*) containing all the usual food, boiled rice, meat, etc. Then they call out, "O ancestors, take this and be kind to our children and cattle."[3]

Religion.

18. They call themselves Hindus, but their religion is of a very irregular type. They sometimes worship Mahâdeva with a burnt offering (*hom*). At marriages they worship Dulha Deo. When they are cutting the rice, they leave a little uncut in each field, and when harvest is done cut this, clean it, and boil it, and then offer it to the field goddess Hariyâri Devi, with a sacrifice of red coloured hens and cock.[4] This offering is consumed by the family of the worshipper. They also

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[1] *History of Human Marriage*, 390.

[2] On this custom, see *Biyâr, para.* 14.

[3] For other examples of this see Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, 153.

[4] This may perhaps be a relic of the ceremony described by the author from Elliott, *Hoshangabad Settlement Report*, 178, quoted by Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, 172.

worship the village boundary deity Siwâna (Terminus) with a goat, some liquor and a thick cake (*rot*), the head of the goat and the cake being the perquisite of the Mahto, who performs the worship. Curiously enough in this worship they do not employ the Baiga. On the sixth of the month Mâgh, they worship an obscure tribal god Chhat Bâba—"The lord of the sixth," of whom no information can be obtained except that he appears to be some deified worthy of the tribe. In Bhâdon they have the tribal dance of the Karama. Unmarried girls fast that day, and in the evening drink liquor, dance, and indulge in rude debauchery. As already remarked (*para.* 5) this is the time when young couples arrange their matches. In the month of Mâgh or Pûs they have the Khichari festival[1] when they eat coarse sugar, a sweetmeat (*chûra*), made of rice and sesamum, and drink liquor. They do the Phagua in the ordinary way, but do not light the Holi fire unless any of their Hindu neighbours do so, when they join in the ceremony.

Various superstitions.

19. They are greatly in fear of evil spirits, which particularly infest rivers, wells, or tanks, where a person has been drowned, or trees, by a fall from which a man has been accidently killed. They are propitiated by a burnt offering (*hom*) and by pouring liquor on the ground. They have the usual omens and lucky days. They commence sowing on a Friday, when the Baiga sets the example to the village. They swear by the Ganges, and by placing their hands on their sons' heads. If they forswear themselves, they believe they die and contract leprosy. They do not practice sorcery or witchcraft themselves, but they believe in the evil influence of witches. This is relieved by passes (*jhârna*) done by the Baiga.

Social customs.

20. They do not eat beef or the flesh of the monkey, alligator, lizard, rat, jackal, or snake. They eat fowls, goats, and pork, which last is not allowed to women. The yuse liquor, smoking and chewing tobacco freely. They will not touch a Kâyasth or Dhobi, or the younger brother's wife; nor will a male connection by marriage (*samdhi*) touch the mother of his son's wife or daughter's husband. Juniors salute seniors in the form known as *pâélagi*, and an old woman replies, *jiyo putra lâkh baras!* "Live child ten thousand years!" They treat aged relations and women well, and respect the latter for their powers

[1] Among Hindus this is solemnized on the last day of Mâgh.

of work. They dread strangers and are very clannish among themselves. They work generally as grooms and keepers of elephants. Their social status is decidedly low, though as compared with the Bengal tribe, they are somewhat higher, as they do not eat beef.[1] They will not do degrading occupations, among which they consider shoe-making disrespectable, and one who practises this trade is debarred from marriage in the caste. Dr. Ball notes that one of them refused to carry his dog in a basket.[2] No Hindu except a Dom will eat food touched by them.

Ghasiyâra, Ghasyâra—(Sanskrit *ghâsa*, "grass," *kâraka* "occupied with").—Grass-cutters, merely an occupation. But a few Muhammadans so entered themselves at the last Census as a separate caste. They have, of course, no connection with the Dravidian Ghasiyas.

Distribution of the Ghasyâras according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Shâhjahânpur	66
Gonda	38
Bahrâich	94
Total .	198

Ghosi[3]—(Sanskrit *ghosha*, root *ghush*, "to shout," as he herds his cattle).—A tribe of Muhammadan herdsmen. There can be little doubt that like the Gaddi most of them are Ahîrs who have been converted to Islâm. To the east of the Province they claim a Gûjar origin and profess to be divided into three endogamous sub-castes—Lilâr, Chopar, and Gaddi Gûjar. In North Oudh again they have three endogamous sub-castes—Padhân or Pradhân; Gaddi and Lâla. The detailed Census lists give 111 sections; but it is at present impossible to distinguish the exogamous from the endogamous groups. These are of the usual type, some local like Deswâli, Kanaujiya, Maghariya, Purabiya; and others following the names of

[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I, 278.

[2] *Jungle Life*, 563.

[3] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and a note by Bâbu Badri Nath, Deputy Collector, Kheri.

well known castes and septs, such as Baghela, Behna, Chaudhari, Chauhân, Gaddi, Gahlot, Gaur, Guâl, Guâlbans, Jâdubansi, Pathân, Râjput, Sayyid, Shaikh, Sadîqi, Tomar, Turk. The word Ghosi is in fact rather vaguely used. In the Panjâb[1] it is applied only to Musalmâns, and is often given to any cow-herd or milkman of that religion, whether Gûjar, Ahîr, or of any other caste, just as Guâla is used for a Hindu cow-herd. In Lucknow the Ghosis have no other employment but the keeping of milch cattle, chiefly buffaloes of all kinds, and they breed buffaloes. They sell milk to Halwâis, and make inspissated milk (*khoa*). The Guâla, on the other hand, is generally an Ahîr or Gadariya, and keeps both buffaloes and cows, and frequently cultivates some land. They seldom sell milk and curds to Halwâis. The Shîrfarosh or Dûdhwâla is a still more general term. They are of no special caste, but are generally Ahîrs, Lodhas, Kurmis, Gadariyas, Halwâis, or Brâhmans.

Manners and customs.

2. The Ghosi conforms to the rules of Islâm, but retains, like many of these lower Muhammadan tribes, some Hindu beliefs and practices. To the east of the Province they say that the ancestor of the race was one Daya Râm Gûjar, who was in high favour with one of the Muhammadan Emperors, and was by him induced to accept the faith of Islâm. He was settled in the neighbourhood of Karra Mânikpur, which they regard as their head-quarters. They profess to follow the Sunni sect, and to the east worship as their tribal deities the Pânchonpîr, Imâm Sâhib, and Ghâzi Miyân. To these they offer sugar and water and cream. Like all Muhammadans they bury their dead and worship the spirits of the sainted dead at the Shab-i-barât and 'Id. On the former feast they offer the *halwa* sweetmeat and cakes of wheaten flour; at the latter vermicelli (*siwaiyân*), milk, and dates. In North Oudh they worship Gorakh, Shâh Madâr, Sayyid Sâlâr, and Bhairon, besides various saints and martyrs (*pîr, shahîd*). They employ Brâhmans to fix the auspicious times for marriage and other observances. To the east of the Province they will not eat beef nor will they eat with any Muhammadans who consume it. This is said not to be the case in North Oudh. They rank rather low in the social scale, and are proverbial for their stupidity and for never taking to any other occupation, but the care of cattle and dealing in milk, butter, curds, etc.

[1] *Panjâb Ethnography*, para. 497: Hoey, *Monograph*, 104.

Distribution of the Ghosis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	71	Jhânsi	274
Sahâranpur . . .	2,086	Benares	2
Muzaffarnagar . . .	217	Mirzapur . . .	119
Meerut	753	Ballia	10
Bulandshahr . . .	9	Gorakhpur . . .	1,541
Aligarh	482	Basti	230
Mathura	127	Azamgarh . . .	53
Agra	119	Tarâi	1,812
Farrukhâbâd . . .	5	Lucknow . . .	966
Etah	33	Unâo	8
Bareilly	63	Râê Bareli . . .	1,108
Bijnor	1,398	Kheri	866
Morâdâbâd . . .	4,199	Faizâbâd . . .	2,065
Pilibhît	48	Gonda	746
Cawnpur	281	Bahrâich . . .	1,270
Fatehpur	190	Sultânpur . . .	5,192
Bânda	218	Partâbgarh . . .	545
Allahâbâd . . .	286	Bârabanki . . .	358
		Total .	27,760

Gindauriya—(Sellers of *gindaura,* a cake of sugar distributed at marriages, etc.).—A small sub-caste of Banyas, most numerous in Meerut. They worship Devi, Mahâdeva, Sûraj Nârâyan, the Sungodling, and Pârvati, the snake, and the Ganges, and have a special respect for the cow and the Pîpal tree. Some of them now hold land as landlords or tenants, and live by Government or private service.

Distribution of Gindauriya Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Muzaffarnagar . . .	211	Bijnor	686
Meerut	5,974	Morâdâbâd . . .	15
Bulandshahr . . .	17	Allahâbâd . . .	100
		TOTAL .	7,003

Golahrê—(*gola*, "a grain mart").—A small sub-caste of Banyas found only in Jhânsi, numbering 608. They are all Jainas.

Golapûrab.[1]— An interesting caste of agriculturists found only in the Agra District, where they occupy several villages in the southern parganas, and a few in the northern pargana of Ihtimâdpur. The former claim to be the earlier residents; but they have no traditions as to the period of their emigration. They are, however, unanimous in fixing the village of Birthara, about 28 miles south of Agra, as the head-quarters of their ancestors; and this assertion is corroborated by the fact that one of their most influential *gotras* is called Birthariya, though they have been residing for generations a long way from that place. The caste is known by no other name than that of Golapûrab. In Khairagarh they attribute their origin to Dholpur. According to Râja Lachhman Sinh, their correct and original name seems to be Golak Pûrna Brâhman, which is equivalent to Golak Brâhman or "bastard" Brâhman. The adverb *pûrna* is often inserted between the two component parts of a compound word, when periphrastically expressed in Sanskrit. As for Gola, which is evidently a corruption of Golaka, "a bastard," it is well known that the sons of concubines among the higher castes are known as *Gola* or *Chela*, and in Sholapur there is a tribe known as Gola, who say that they were originally Brâhmans who were degraded for killing cows. The tribal tradition which derives their

[1] This account is almost entirely based on a note by Râja Lachhman Sinh, Retired Deputy Collector, Agra.

name from the Rishi Galava, who, according to the Harivansa, was the son, and, according to the Mahâbhârata, the pupil of Visvamitra, rests on no authority, and no rule of syllabic mutation would convert the descendants of Galava into Golapûrab. This Rishi, some say, was married to a low caste widow; according to others to Sukseni, the daughter of the Chandrabans Râja Chandra Sen.

Connection with Sanâdh Brâhmans.

2. Râja Lachhman Sinh gives various reasons for believing that the Golapûrabs are a spurious branch of the Sanâdhya Brâhmans. His argument is first that the villages occupied by the two tribes are closely intermixed; secondly, that the names of the *gotras* of both are derived from the names of villages occupied by their ancestor, and not, as among other Brâhmans, from the names of their ancestors or their titles. Several *gotras*, again, notably Birthariya, are common to both. Thirdly, the customs and ceremonials of Golapûrabsc losely resemble those of the Sanâdhyas. Both wear the sacred cord (*janeú*) and do not permit widow-marriage. Unlike the Sanâdhyas, however, they employ family priests (*purohit*), which implies that they are not pure Brâhmans. Fourthly, they will eat *kachchi* from the hands of Sanâdhyas alone, and from no other caste or even tribe of Brâhmans. Some of the Ihtimâdpur families attribute their origin to the village of Chitora, which is said to lie somewhere south of Agra. They perform the tonsure (*múnran*) ceremony under a *nîm* tree, which they consider as sacred as the *pípal*. Of this custom they can give no explanation; but there are some Râjput clans which reverence the *nîm* tree, and will, on no account, cut even the smallest branch of it. In Agra the names of the chief *gotras* of the caste are derived from those of villages situated immediately round Birthara, such as Birthariya, Pairiha, Khosariya, Madheriya, and Badhiya. Their connection with the Sanâdhya Brâhmans is also shown by the fact that their priests are all drawn from that sub-division of Brâhmans.

3. At the same time their sections, as given in the detailed Census lists to the number of 76, do not tend to establish their Brâhmanical origin, and we find no trace of even the stock names such as Bharadwâja, Kasyapa, and the like. On the contrary are found local terms such as Jaiswâr, Mathuriya, or titles derived from Râjput or other tribes such as Chauhân, Kachhwâya, Panwâr, Râjput, Thâkur, or occupational as Ghaskata, "grass cutters." All this decidedly weakens their claim to Brâhmanical origin.

Marriage rules.

4. Marriage of two sisters is permitted. Difference of belief is no bar to intermarriage. Generally polygamy is permitted only when the first wife is barren or unfit through some infirmity or disease for household work. When there are two wives, the senior enjoys more respect than the junior, who, however, naturally receives more of the affection of her husband. Unless serious quarrels arise, the wives live in the same house. There is no fixed age for the marriage of males, but girls are almost always married before puberty, when they are about nine or ten years old. The marriage negotiations are carried out by the village barber and the family priest. The marriage is void in the absence of the consent of the father or other legal guardian. No physical defect subsequently ascertained can annul a marriage, and divorce is prohibited. Bastards or the offspring of illicit connections are known as Dasa,[1] and are not admitted to full caste rights, and do not inherit. As a rule they follow the tribe of the father, and only in very rare cases that of the mother. Not only are illegitimate children excluded from inheritance, but they are not admitted to the domestic meals or to tribal feasts. Illicit connections involve the excommunication of both parties. Widow-marriage and the levirate are both prohibited.

Birth ceremonies.

5. There are no ceremonies performed during pregnancy. During parturition neither the mother nor the midwife must face the south. Some elderly woman of the family, or in default of such a person, a hired woman acts as midwife, and after deliverythe mother is attended by the women of her own family. On the fifth or sixth day after the child is born is the Chhathi worship, and on the twelfth day the Dashtaun. On the former the women of the family and their neighbours sing songs, eat rice and sugar, and worship the goddess, Shasthi, the protectress of children. On the Dashtaun food and presents are given to Brâhmans. The child-birth impurity rests on the family until it is removed by the Dashtaun feast. There are no special ceremonies in connection with twins.

Adoption; initiation.

6. The adoption ceremonies are of the normal type, as laid down in the Dattaka Mimânsa and the Dattaka Chandrika. The regular initiation

[1] Dasa and Bîsa, as we have seen in connection with some of the Banya tribes, mean "the tens" and "the twenties," the latter claiming to be of blue blood.

ceremony or investiture ceremony (*yajnopavîta*) is performed as among all "twice-born" castes.

Marriage.

7. The marriage ceremonies vary little, if at all, from those current among the higher castes. The bride's father or guardian sends a cocoanut and a rupee or a gold *muhar* to the bridegroom. If these are accepted, the barber who carries them puts a mark of sandal (*roli*) on the boy's forehead, and places a sweetmeat (*batâsha*) and a betel leaf in his mouth. This ceremony is known as *tîka, sikka,* or *jaima*. The first name is derived from the red forehead mark, the second from the coin used as a pledge of betrothal, and the third is the feast given to the barber at the house of the bridegroom. While the negotiations for the betrothal are going on the barber may visit the bridegroom's house several times, but he will not eat there until the match is finally settled. The betrothal is not complete before the *tîka* ceremony, and after this ceremony it can be annulled, first, if either of the parties is found to be suffering from some serious disease; secondly, if it comes to light that they are within the prohibited degrees; thirdly, when a doubt is raised as to the purity of descent of either party. Betrothal takes place any time before marriage, generally when the girl is seven years of age. If the betrothal is annulled the presents are usually returned.

8. The actual marriage ceremony is of the normal type. The binding portion of it is the *saptapadi* or walking seven times round the sacred fire. In most cases now-a-days only six perambulations are performed. The only apparent survival of marriage by capture is what is known as the "door" or "vestibule ceremony" (*darwâza, barothi*) in which a mock fight is carried on by the relations of the bride and bridegroom. It is performed at the door of the bride's house, and the bridegroom is always girt with a sword while it is going on.

Disposal of the dead.

9. The dead are cremated. Customs vary in different places, as to the position in which the corpse is laid for cremation. In some places it is laid face downwards, in others on the back. The latter is the more general. The head is in some place laid in the direction of the north, in other towards the south. The latter is in accordance with the rules of the Shâstra. If there be a river close by the ashes are consigned to it, while any fragments of bone which remain are reserved to be thrown into the Ganges when a convenient opportunity occurs.

The fire is lit and the skull broken by the nearest relation of the deceased. After disposing of the ashes if there be a river close by the mourners return home.

Propitiation of the dead.

10. Besides the ordinary *srâddha*, which is performed in honour of deceased relations, childless relations (*apût*, a corruption of *aputra*) are propitiated by performing the Kirtân ceremony. At this certain professional Brâhmans sing religious songs, and a feast is given to them. The *srâddha* performed on the eleventh day after death is known as *Ekoddishta* or "directed towards this single deceased person alone." The subsequent *srâddhas* are common to the whole body of deceased relations. They are done either monthly on the day the deceased died, or annually in the month of Kuâr (September-October). Those who are particularly religious visit some holy shrine, such as the confluence of two sacred rivers, or, in preference, Gaya, for this purpose. In most villages there is a particular spot on the outskirts which is supposed to be haunted by the ghosts of deceased relations, particularly those who have died childless or perished by a violent death. Some pieces of stone are their representatives, and these are worshipped by women at marriages, when the bride goes home with her husband, and at some other festivals. If there have been a *sati* in the family she is worshipped at the same time.[1] The ordinary *srâddha* is performed in accordance with the standard ritual, and in all cases among Golapûrabs, by the family priest.

Ceremonial impurity.

11. The parents and the nearest relations in the direct line are impure for ten days after the birth of a child. The death impurity lasts for twelve or thirteen days, and a woman in her menses is impure for four days. In the first two cases the impurity is removed by a regular ceremony in which Brâhmans are feasted; in the third case the woman purifies herself by bathing on the fifth day.

Religion.

12. Golapûrabs invariably belong to the Vaishnava sect, and employ as their priests Sanâdhya Brâhmans. In common with other and lower castes they worship the village godlings, Châmunda Devi, a form of Durga, Pathwâri Devi, who is the guardian of roads (*patha*) and the protectress of travellers. Hardeo Bundela, the cholera godling; Sîtala, the

[1] At the last Census 8,533 persons scattered all over the province recorded themselves as Sati worshippers.

goddess of small-pox;[1] and, Bhûmiya, the guardian of the village site. Cows and bullocks are worshipped on the Govardhana day in the middle of Kârttik (October-November), and horses at the Dasahra in Kuâr (September-October). The animals are smeared with colours, and are given a special feed of grain. The only means of propitiating the ghosts of the dead is by the ordinary *srâddha*. They believe in dreams and visions in which the spirits of the departed appear to their relations, and there are certain places which are specially haunted by malignant ghosts, which very often appear in animal forms, such as those of the dog, cat, buffalo, etc. The appearance of such malignant ghosts is generally understood to imply that their obsequies have not been duly performed; and this can be remedied by a performance of the *srâddha*, or pilgrimage to Gaya, and by erecting a tomb or platform in the name of the deceased, or by planting one of the varieties of fig tree (*pîpal, bar, gûlar*) in his honour. The ghosts of persons who have died childless are much dreaded and are known as *aût*, or those who have none to pour water for their refreshment in the world of the dead. The only trace of special tree worship is the veneration felt by some of the *gotras* for the *nîm* tree. They believe in astrology and the influence of evil stars: these are propitiated by worship (*pûja*) and by giving food and presents to the low class of astrologer Brâhmans, known as Bhaddri, Bharâra, Parokhiya, or Dakaut. They believe in the usual meeting omens. When a first child dies, the next baby is given an opprobrious name as a protection against the Evil Eye and demoniacal influence generally. Such names are Tînkauri or Pachkauri ("bought for three or five cowries"); Kanchheda ("ear-pierced), Nathua, Nakchhed, Chhidda, ("nose-pierced"); Bhika or Bhikâri ("beggar"); Chhitariya, Ghasîta, Kadhera ("one put in a basket immediately after birth and dragged about the house"); Ghâsi ("cheap as grass"); Jhâu ("valueless as tamarisk"); Phûsa ("cheap as straw"); Mendu ("one taken immediately after birth and partly buried on the boundary of the field as if it were already dead"); Ghûri ("thrown on the dung-hill"); Nakta ("without a nose"), and so on. These practices are rarely employed in the case of girls, who are considered naturally protected.

[1] At the last Census, 119,139 persons recorded themselves as worshippers of Sîtala, and 9,539 of the cholera godling.

13. The common forms of oath are—swearing in a temple, by holding Ganges water in the hand or touching the idol, by the leaf of a *pîpal* tree, by the sacred cord of a Brâhman, by going seven paces in the direction of the Ganges, by touching the forehead of a Brâhman, by swearing with son or grandson in the arms. The last oath, if taken falsely, is supposed to cause the death of the child in a few days. Violation of the other oaths brings sickness of men and cattle, plague and pestilence, loss of crops, and so on.

Oaths.

14. The control of witches and other forms of demoniacal agency is in the hands of the Syâna or "cunning man." He is called in in cases of sickness and smokes some tobacco which has been touched by the sick man since the attack began. This causes him to fall into a state of ecstacy, in which he mutters the name of the evil spirit which is attacking the patient, and suggests the proper means of propitiation. The Syâna generally has a private devil or two of his own, which he lets loose to pursue the evil spirit which is afflicting his patient. The office of Syâna is not confined to any special caste: any one may undertake the duty if he learns the appropriate spell (*mantra*) from some teacher (*guru*), or by intensity of devotion reduces an evil spirit into his power. Some people learn the interpretation of dreams from the special printed manuals on the subject. Anything valuable is liable to the Evil Eye, because malignant people covet its possession. The best means of obviating it is to throw grains of the small mustard (*râi*) salt and bran into the fire. Great care is taken of substances, such as clippings of the hair, fragments of the nails, etc. These if allowed to lie about may get into the hands of some witch and enable her to obtain influence over the original owner.

Demonology.

15. Meat of all kinds is prohibited food, and so are onions, garlic, and turnips. They will eat with no caste which they consider lower than their own, and will not touch a Bhangi, Dhobi, or Chamâr: Khatîks and Kanjars are also held in abhorrence. A man should not mention by name his Râja, his Guru, his father, elder brother, eldest son, or father-in-law. Similarly women should not name their husbands, mother-in-law, or the wife of the husband's elder brother. If a Râja is mentioned it is Râjaji, the Guru as Guruji, the father as Kâkaji, the elder brother as Bhaiyyaji, the eldest son as Lallu or

Social rules.

Nanhê. For other senior relations they use a periphrasis, calling them "the son of so-and-so" or "the father of so-and-so."

Agricultural beliefs.

16. A Brâhman is always consulted as to the most propitious day for beginning to plough, sow, or reap. The most important operation is the first ploughing after the first fall of rain. This is known as *halaita lena*. The time is fixed by the Pandit, who also names the member of the family who should drive it, and in which direction it should be worked. A shower is unlucky if it fall on the first day of the light half of Jeth (May-June), and at midnight on the fifth of Sâwan (July-August). These indicate a bad rainy season. Rain on the seventh of Sâwan is lucky, and thunder on the seventeenth of Jeth is considered propitious. Vegetables and other more valuable crops are protected from the Evil Eye by suspending a black pot in the field.

Food.

17. There is no special kind of food allowed to men and prohibited to women. When a person is initiated into any of the Vaishnava sects (*guru-dakhsha lena, gurumukh hona*) he is obliged to abandon the use of one particular kind of food or fruit. Women do not eat with men, and young children, who are regarded as impure because they touch dirt and eat without regard to caste rules, are not allowed to enter the cooking place (*chauka*) of the adult males of the family. All the men eat together or apart as is found most convenient. At the commencement of meals offerings are made to the deities, and those who are strict and in a position to observe the religious rules, perform what is known as the *vaiswadeva yajya*, which consists in casting a little of the food as an offering to the deities at the commencement of a meal. Others merely repeat the words *Lîjiye Thakurji Mahâráj*, "Be pleased Great Lord to accept our offering." The smoking of *gânja* is considered disreputable; against *bhang* and opium there is no prohibition; any one drinking spirits is excommunicated.

Salutation.

18. Elders, Brâhmans, and men of rank are entitled to a salute from all males. The salute to a Brâhman is the word *Pâlagan*; "I touch thy feet" to a Râjput *Juhâr* or *Mujra*, and to others *Râm! Râm!* or the name of the particular deity worshipped by the person making the salute. Persons of rank are given the highest place at a feast or social meeting. If a superior and inferior happen to sit on the same cot,

the former sits at the head and the latter at the feet. They will eat *kachchi roti* or food cooked without ghi, with no one but a Sanâdh Brâhman, and they will eat *pakki roti* with no one lower than a barber.

19. The Golapûrabs are a purely agricultural caste, and are one of the most industrious peoples of the province, and the women are particularly noted for their excellence in domestic work.

Occupation.

Distribution of the Golapûrabs according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Numbers.
Agra	9,717
Etah	6
Total	9,723
Males	5,315
Females	4,408

Goli.—A caste shown at the last Census only to the number of 21 in the Muzaffarnagar District. As far as can be ascertained they are really only a sub-caste of Luniyas. The detailed Census Returns give only one section, Kaprahti.

Gond; Gonr.—Probably meaning an "inhabitant of Gauda" or Western Kosala; according to Mr. Hislop from the Telegu *Konda*, "a hill." Dr. Oppert[1] suggests that the names of tribes with the first syllable *Ko* or *Go*, such as the Kodulu, Konda, Gonda, Ganda, Kurava, etc., are derived from the Gauda Dravidian root *Ko, Konda*, etc., in the sense of "mountain." In the Census Returns under the name Gond two quite distinct classes of people seem to be mixed up,—the true Gonds of the Central Indian hill country, and the Gonr of the Eastern Districts of these Provinces, who is usually classed with the fishing tribes of Kahâr and Mallâh and is a domestic servant, stone-cutter or grain-parcher. In the detailed Census Returns the sections of these two distinct tribes are inextricably mixed up together and defy analysis.

[1] *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsha*, 13.

GOND.

The Central Indian Gonds.

2. Of the Central Indian Gonds there are very few in these Provinces except in Jhânsi and Lalitpur. But as will be seen from the account of the Mânjhis and Kharwârs of South Mirzapur, they are almost certainly an offshoot from the great Gond race, and still preserve much of the tribal organisation of the real Gonds along the Hills to the west. According to Mr. Hislop[1] the true Gonds divide themselves into twelve and-a-half castes or classes in imitation of the Hindus. These are Râj Gond; Raghuwâl; Dadavê; Katulya; Pâdâl; Dholi; Ojhyâl; Thotyâl; Koilabhutâl; Koikopâl; Kolâm; Madyâl, and an inferior sort of Pâdâl as the half caste. The first four, with the addition, according to some, of the Kolâm, are comprehended under the name of Koitor, the Gond *par excellence*.

The Râj Gonds.

3. The only branch of the tribe which seems to exist under this name in these Provinces is the Râj Gond, some of whom are reported to exist in the Jhânsi District. They are divided into the following sections (*gotra*) :—Sohâm; Chagâba; Markâm; Posâm; Korâm; Dewar, which are exogamous. Of the Râj Gonds Mr. Hislop writes:—"The Râj Gonds are so called because they have furnished from their number most of the families who have attained to royal power. They are widely spread over the plains and mountains of the Province of Nâgpur, and are found in Berâr and the jungle south of the Wârda, as well as those north of the Narbada. The Raghuwâl and Dadavê are more limited in their range, being confined principally to the District of Chhindwâra. These three classes generally devote themselves to agriculture. They eat with each other, but do not intermarry. The Katulya, though not a very numerous class in regard to individuals, is extensively scattered. It includes all those who, originally belonging to one or other of the preceding Koitor classes, have begun to conform to the Hindu religion and to ape Hindu manners. Professing to be Kshatriyas, they have invested themselves with a sacred thread, and make great efforts to get the claim allowed by contracting marriage with needy Râjput brides. With scrupulous exactness they perform the prescribed ablutions of their adopted faith, and carry their passion for purification so far as to have their faggots duly sprinkled with water

[1] *Papers*, 4.

before they are used for cooking. At the time of dinner if a stranger or a crow come near them the food is thrown away as polluted. These practices, which other Koitors regard with profound contempt, are gaining ground among the rich. It was only one or two generations ago that the Zamîndâr or petty Râja of Khairagarh, the present bearer of which title still carries in his features unmistakeable traces of his Gond origin, was received within the pale of Hinduism; and similar transformations, though at a more distant date, seem to have been undergone, by the royal dynasties of Bastar, Mandla, and various smaller principalities. The tendency to claim connection with Râjputs is not peculiar to ambitious Gonds: it prevails among the Bhîls of Mâlwa, and is not unknown to the wandering Kaikâdis of the Dakkhin, both of whom boast of being Yadavas or Panwârs, or some equally highborn section of the Kshatriyas." Exactly the same is the case with the Kharwârs of Mirzapur, one of whom has in quite recent times blossomed into a Râjput and invented a clan, the Benbans, for himself. He has succeeded in marrying into a clan as respectable as that of the Chandel.

Physical appearance of the Gonds.

4. Of the physical appearance of the Gonds Mr. Hislop writes: —"All are a little below the average size of Europeans, and in complexion darker than the generality of Hindus. Their bodies are well proportioned, but their features are rather ugly. They have a roundish head, distended nostrils, wide mouth, thickish lips, straight, black hair, and scanty beard and moustache. It has been supposed that some of the aborigines of Central India have woolly hair; but this is a mistake. Among the thousands I have seen I have not found one with hair like a Negro. A few, indeed, have curly locks, as a few Britons have; but I have not met with one inhabitant of the forest who exhibited any marked resemblance to the African race. On the contrary, both their hair and features are decidedly Mongolian." "Their women," writes Captain Forsyth,[1] "differ among themselves more than do the men of these races. Those of the Gonds are somewhat lighter in colour and less fleshy than the Korkus. But the Gond women of different parts of the country vary greatly in appearance, many of them in the opener parts near the plains being great robust creatures; finer animals by far than the men, and here Hindu blood may be fairly expected. In the inte-

[1] *Highlands of Central India*, 156.

rior, again, bevies of Gond women may be seen who are liker monkeys than human beings. The features of all are strongly marked and coarse. The girls occasionally possess such comeliness as attaches to general plumpness and a good-humoured expression of face; but when their short youth is over, all pass at once into a hideous age. Their hard lives, sharing as they do all the labours of the men, except that of hunting, suffice to account for this. They dress decently enough, in a short petticoat, often dyed blue, tucked in between the legs so as to leave them naked to the thigh, and a mantle of white cotton covering the upper part of the body, with a fold thrown over the head. The most eastern section of the Korkus add a boddice, as do some of the Hinduised Gonds. The Gond women have the legs as far as they are suffered to be seen tattooed in a variety of fantastic patterns, done in indigo or gun-powder blue. The Pardhâns are the great artists in this line, and the figures they design are almost the only ornamental art attempted by these tribes. It is done when the girl becomes marriageable; and the traveller will sometimes hear dreadful shrieks issuing from their villages, which will be attributed to some young Gondin being operated upon with the tattooing needle. Like all barbarians, both races deck themselves with an inordinate amount of what they consider ornaments. Quantity rather than quality is aimed at; and both arms and legs are usually loaded with tiers of heavy rings, in silver among the more wealthy, but, rather than not at all, then in brass, iron, or coloured glass. Ear and noserings and bulky necklaces of coins and beads are also common; and their ambrosial locks are intertwined on State occasions with the hair of goats and other animals."

Domestic rites—Marriage.

5. The following account of Gond domestic ceremonies by a writer in the *Central Provinces Gazette* may be quoted, as the book is rare:—"Some of the Gond ceremonies are peculiar. Thus, they have seven different kinds of marriages, some much more binding than others, but all supposed to contain a sufficient quantum of matrimonial sanctity about them. The first and surest is when a Gond wants to marry his daughter, he first looks for a husband among his sister's children, as it is considered the proper thing for first cousins to marry whenever such an arrangement is possible; though, strange to say, the

[1] Page 276, s.

rule is only thought absolutely binding when the brother's child happens to be a girl, and the sister's a boy. Even in the opposite case, however, it is very commonly done, as by so providing for a relation for life, the man is said to have performed a very right and proper act. Another reason is that less expense is entailed in marrying a relation than the daughter of a stranger, who is apt to be more exacting. Among the poorer classes who can afford no money as a dower, the bridegroom serves the bride's father for periods varying from seven or eight months to three years, or sometimes more, according to arrangements made by the parents. When the children are ten or eleven years old, a committee of the village elders is generally held, and the term of apprenticeship decided; the term of service being usually somewhat longer when the youth is serving his uncle for his cousin, as relations are not supposed to exact so much work from the Lamjina. The youth lives in one of the out-houses, and has to perform all the menial work of the household, both in the house and in the field. During his period of probation he is forbidden to hold any intercourse with the girl.

6. "Another description of marriage is when the woman makes her own match, and declining the husband provided for her by her relatives, runs away with the man of her choice. A case of this sort seldom happens. It is, however, quite recognised among the Gonds that the women have the right to take their own way if they have the courage; and the elders of the village in which the man resides generally endeavour to arrange matters to the satisfaction of both parties. Connected with this is compulsory marriage. Even after the girl has run away from her father's house, and taken up her residence in the house of the man of her choice, it is quite allowable for the man she has deserted to assert his rights to her person by carrying her off by force; in fact not only is this right allowed to the deserted lover, but any one of the girl's first cousins may forcibly abduct her and keep her for himself, if he has the power. Once carried off, she is kept in the house of her captor, carefully watched, until she finds it useless to attempt to resist, and gives in. Occasionally where the girl has made what is considered an objectionable match with a poorman, who has few friends, abductions of this sort are successfully carried out; but, as a rule, they are not attempted. The last form is for very poor people, or girls with no relations. In the latter case she selects some man of her acquaintance, and going to his house takes up her abode there.

He signifies his acceptance by putting on her arms bangles (*chūri*) and giving a small feast to the village elders. Sometimes he objects, if the woman is useless or of bad character; but he gets little redress from the elders; and unless he can induce some other man to take her off his hands he is generally supposed to be bound to keep the woman. As, however, the women are usually good labourers, and well worthy of their hire, a man of property seldom raises any objection, and the women, too, are usually sufficiently worldly-wise to choose for their keepers men fairly well-to-do."

Widow-marriage.

7. "Widows are expected to re-marry, and the Gond customs provide for their re-marriage in two ways. The first consists simply in the woman proceeding to the house of the man she has agreed to live with after her husband's death. The other is where the younger brother marries his elder brother's widow, which he is expected to do by the custom of the tribe, unless the widow should insist on making some other arrangement for herself. The ceremony in both the cases consists simply of a presentation of bangles by the husband to the wife, and a feast to the village elders. Elder brothers are not allowed to marry the widows of their younger brothers. The only limit to the number of wives a Gond may have is his means of supporting them.

Death rites.

8. "Cremation is considered the most honourable mode of disposing of the dead, but being expensive is very seldom resorted to, except in the case of elders of the tribe. The rule is that, if possible, men over fifty should be burned; but as these wild tribes have no means of telling the ages of their friends, it results that all old men are burnt. Women are always buried. Formerly the Gonds used to bury their dead in the houses in which they died, just deep enough to prevent their being dug up again by the dogs; now they have generally some place, set apart as a burial-ground near the village. Their funeral ceremonies are very few; the grave is dug so that the head shall lie to the south and the feet to the north; the idea being that the deceased has gone to the home of the deities, which is supposed to be somewhere in the north; but the Gonds do not appear to have any real theory as regards an after-life, or the immortality of the soul. They seem to consider that man is born to live a certain number of years on the earth, and having fulfilled his time, to die, his spirit is supposed to

haunt the house in which he lived until it is laid. The ceremony for this purpose may be gone through apparently at any time after death, from one month to a year and-a-half, or even to two years. During that period the spirit of the deceased is the only object of worship in the house. A share of the family food is set aside for him, and he is supposed to remain in the house and watch over its inmates. After his funeral, when, if the relatives can afford it, they clothe the corpse in a new dress, a little turmeric and a pice is tied up in a cloth, and suspended by the Baiga to one of the beams of the house; there it remains till the time comes to lay the spirit, which is done by the Baiga removing the cloth and offering it, with a portion of the flesh of a goat or a pig, to the god of the village; a feast is given to the relations and elders, and the ceremony is complete."

Religion.

9. In Jhânsi they worship all the ordinary Hindu gods, Mahârdeva, Bhawâni, Râma, Krishna, Mahâbîr, and Hardaul; but their special tribal deity is Gonr Bâba, who is apparently one of the deified worthies of the tribe. They seem to have become completely Hinduised: cremate their dead, throw the ashes into the Ganges or one of its tributaries, and employ the ordinary village Brâhmans in their domestic ceremonies.

10. In their real home the number of their deities seems everywhere to differ. Mr. Hislop says that he could never get any one man to name more than seven. The best known are Dulha Deo, Nârâyan Deo, Sûraj Deo, Mâta, Devi, Bara Deo, Khair Mâta, Thâkur Deo and Gansyâm Deo. Besides these, the Gond peoples the forests in which he lives with spirits of all kinds, most of them vested with the power of inflicting evil, and quite inclined to use their power. To propitiate these he sets up a shrine (*pâl*) in spots selected either by himself or by his ancestors, and there performs certain rites, generally consisting of small offerings on certain days. These shrines are sometimes merely a bamboo with a piece of rag tied to the end, a heap of stones, or perhaps only a few pieces of rag tied to the branches of a tree. However, the spirit is supposed to ha[illegible] taken up its abode there, and, in consequence, on the occasion [illegible] any event of importance happening in the Gond's family, the s[illegible] has his share of the good things going, in the shape of a little [illegible] and possibly a fowl sacrificed to him. In Mandla Thâkur [illegible] supposed to represent especially the household deity, and t[illegible] over the wellbeing of the house [illegible] he has [illegible] residence, but has the credit [illegible]

quently not represented by any image. In Râmgarh, too, this deity is held in great reverence; but there he is supposed to occupy more than one shape. One village in the Shahpur Ta'aluqa is said to be very highly favoured as one of the residences of their deity. Captain Ward was shown there a few links of a roughly forged chain which the superstition of the people had gifted with the power of voluntary motion; this chain looked very old, and no one could say how long it had been at Jata; it was occasionally found hanging on a *ber* tree, sometimes on a stone under the tree, at others in the bed of a neighbouring stream. At the time of Captain Ward's visit it was on a stone under the tree, from which it was said to have descended four days before. Each of these movements is made the occasion for some petty sacrifice, of which the attendant Baiga reaps the benefit, so that it is, of course, his advantage to work on the credulity of the Gonds; he does not appear, however, to abuse his power, as these movements only occur about once in four months; so that the Gonds can hardly complain of being priest-ridden to any extent."

11. The following account of Gansyâm Deo may be compared with what has been elsewhere said about this deity.[1] "Throughout the greater part of Râmgarh, and also in parts of Mandla, Gansyâm Deo is held in great reverence, and about one hundred yards from each village where he is in favour, a small hut is built for him. It is generally of the rudest material, with little attempt at ornamentation. A bamboo, with a red or yellow flag tied to the end, is planted in one corner, an old withered garland or two is hung up, and a few blocks of rough stone, some smeared with vermilion, are strewn about the place, which is thus especially dedicated to Gansyâm Deo. He is considered the protector of the crops, and in the month of Kârtik (November) the whole village assembles at his shrine to worship him: sacrifices of fowls and spirits, or a pig occasionally, according to the size of the village, are offered, and Gansyâm is said to descend on the head of one of the worshippers, who is suddenly seized with a sort of fit, and after staggering about for a little, rushes off into the wildest jungles, where, the popul[redacted]d and brought back, he would inevi-[redacted]natic; for as it is, after being [redacted] senses for one or two days.

[redacted]eligion, 74.

The idea is that one man is thus singled out as a scapegoat for the sins of the rest of the village."

Distribution of the Gonds according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Dhuriya.	Jetwant.	Others.	Total.
Cawnpur	...	...	7	7
Bânda	...	...	166	166
Allahâbâd	15	...	6	21
Jhânsi	...	...	8	8
Jâlaun	...	...	10	10
Lalitpur	...	...	525	525
Benares	11,363	9	1,407	12,779
Mirzapur	8,368	...	493	8,861
Jaunpur	2,171	...	...	2,171
Ghâzipur	5,976	6,407	1,926	14,309
Ballia	1,227	23,358	4,200	28,785
Gorakhpur	7,431	38,503	1,950	47,884
Azamgarh	4,585	...	4,387	8,972
Unâo	2	...	...	2
Bahrâich	...	1	3	4
Total	41,138	68,278	15,088	124,504

Goriya, Guriya.—A fishing and cultivating caste of the Eastern Districts, in all respects analogous to the Gonrhi or Gunrhi of Bihâr.[1] They are usually treated as a sub-caste of Mallâh. They correspond closely to the other allied castes in manners and customs; but their women are said to bear an indifferent character—a state of things naturally resulting in a caste the male members of which are compelled by the nature of their occupation to absent themselves from home for long periods. Thei[illegible]pîr. "Some again worship a water[illegible] an old grey-bearded person, w[illegible]

[1] For whom see Ris[illegible]

of our lady the Ganges' saps and swallows up whatever opposes the sacred stream. Before casting a new net or starting on a commercial venture, offerings of molasses and seven kinds of grain, kneaded into balls, are offered to him, and at the end of the ceremony one of the balls is placed on the edge of the water, another on the bow of the boat. Another rite common to many, if not to all fisher castes, is the Barwariya or Barahi Pûja, when a subscription is made, and in the absence of a Brâhman a pig is sacrificed in a garden or on a patch of waste land outside a village. Jay Sinh, Amar Sinh, Chand Sinh, Dayâl Sinh, Kewal, Marang Bandi, Goraiya, and a river named Kamalaji, are regularly worshipped. Jay Sinh, who is also a favourite deity of the Tiyar caste, is said to have been a Gonrhi of Ujjain who had a large timber trade in the Sundariban. On one occasion the Râja of the Sundariban imprisoned 700 Gonrhis in consequence of a dispute about the price of wood. Jay Sinh slew the Râja and released the prisoners, and has ever since been honoured with daily worship. Goats, sweetmeats, wheaten cakes, *pân supâri* and flowers are offered to him at regular intervals, and no Gonrhi will light a pipe or embark on a fishing excursion without first invoking the name of Jay Sinh. Once a year, in the month of Srâvan, a flag is set up in honour of Hanumân on a bamboo pole in the courtyard, and offerings of sweetmeats and fruits are presented to the god. These offerings are received by the Brâhmans who officiate as priests, while the articles of food given to the minor gods are eaten by the members of the caste. The dead are buried, usually on the brink of a river, and the ashes thrown into the stream. In Supal the practice is to burn in a mango grove. *Srâddha* is performed on the thirteenth day after death."[1]

Govindpanthi, Gobindpanthi.—A Vaishnava sect whose adherents at the last Census numbered 4,605 persons. It was founded by Govind Dâs, a mendicant buried at Ahrauli, in the Faizâbâd District, in whose honour an annual fair, attended by several thousand worshippers, is held in the month of Aghan.[2]

Gûjar, Gujar.[3]—An important agricultural and pastoral tribe found principally in the Western Districts. They take their name

[1] Risley, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Census Report, North-Western Provinces*, 240.

[3] Based on notes received from Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, C.S., Sultânpur: Nawâb Muhammad Ali Khân, Bulandshahr: Bâbu Tarini Chandra Sanyâl, Head Master, High School, Saharanpur: the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Meerut.

from the Sanskrit *Gurjára*, the original name of the country now called Gujarât. The current derivation from *gâû-charâna* "to pasture cattle" cannot be accepted; as a curiosity of folk etymology it may be added that some derive it from the fact that the tribe once took to feeding their cattle on carrots (*gâjar*). The traditions of the tribe give little information as to their origin or history. By one legend current in the Panjâb they claim descent from a certain Nand Mihr, who is perhaps Nanda, the foster father of Krishna, who was raised to distinction because he slaked the thirst of Alexander the Great with a draught of buffalo milk. They are identified by General Cunningham[1] with the Kushan or Yuchi or Tochari, a tribe of Eastern Tartars. "About a century before Christ their Chief conquered Kâbul and the Peshâwar country; while his son, Hima Kadphises, so well known to the numismatologist, extended his sway over the whole of the Upper Panjâb and the banks of the Jumna as far down as Mathura and the Vindhyas, and his successor, the no less familiar King Kanishka, the first Indo-Scythian Buddhist prince, annexed Kashmîr to the kingdom of the Tochari. These Tochari or Kushan are the Kaspeiræi of Ptolemy; and in the middle of the second century of our era, Kaspeira, Kasyapura or Multân was one of their chief cities. Probably about the beginning of the third century after Christ, the attack of the White Huns recalled the last king of the united Yuchi to the West, and he left his son in charge of an independent Province, whose capital was fixed at Peshâwar; and from that time the Yuchi of Kâbul are known as the Great Yuchi, and those of the Panjâb as the Kator or Little Yuchi. Before the end of the third century a portion of the Gûjars had begun to move southward down the Indus, and were shortly afterwards separated from their northern brethren by another Indo-Scythian wave from the North. In the middle of the fifth century there was a Gûjar kingdom in South-Western Rajputâna, whence they were driven by the Balas into Gujarât of the Bombay Presidency; and about the end of the ninth century, Ala Khân, the Gûjar King of Jammu, ceded the present Gûjardesa, corresponding very nearly with the Gujarât District, to the King of Kashmîr. The town of Gujarât is said to have been built or restored by Ala Khân Gûjar in the time of Akbar."

2. The present distribution of the Gûjars is thus described by

[1] *Archæological Reports*, II, 61.

General Cunningham:[1]—"At the present day the Gûjars are found in great numbers in every part of the north-west of India, from the Indus to the Ganges, and from the Hazâra Mountains to the Peninsula of Gujarât. They are specially numerous along the banks of the Upper Jumna near Jagâdri and Buriya, and in the Sahâranpur District, which during the last century was actually called Gujarât. To the east they occupy the petty State of Samptar, in Bundelkhand, and one of the northern districts of Gwâlior, which is still called Gûjargâr. They are found only in small bodies and much scattered throughout Eastern Rajputâna and Gwâlior; but they are more numerous in the Western States, and especially towards Gujarât, where they form a large part of the population. The Râjas of Riwâri to the south of Delhi are Gûjars. In the Southern Panjâb they are thinly scattered, but their numbers increase rapidly towards the North, where they have given their name to several important places, such as Gujrânwâla, in the Rechna Duâb, Gujarât, in the Chaj Duâb, and Gûjar Khân, in the Sindh Sâgar Duâb. They are numerous about Jahlam and Hasan Abdâl, and throughout the Hazâra District; and they are also found in considerable numbers in the Dardu Districts of Chilâs, Kohli, and Palâs, to the east of the Indus, and in the contiguous districts to the east of the river."

3. As regards their ethnical affinities Mr. Ibbetson writes:[2]—"It has been suggested, and is, I believe, held by many, that Jâts and Gujars, and perhaps Ahîrs also, are all of one ethnic stock; and this because there is a close connection between them. It may be that they are the same in their far distant origin. But I think they must have entered India at different times or settled in separate parts, and my reason for thinking so is precisely because they eat and smoke together. In the case of Jât and Râjput the reason for differentiation is obvious, the latter being of higher rank than the former. But the social standing of Jâts, Gujars, and Ahîrs being practically identical, I do not see why they should ever have separated if they were once the same. It is, however, possible that the Jâts were the camel graziers and perhaps husbandmen, the Gûjars the cowherds of the hills, and the Ahîrs the cowherds of the plains. If this be so, they afford a classification by occupation of the yeoman class, which fill up the gap between, and is absolutely

[1] *Loc. cit.*
[2] *Panjâb Ethnography*, 481.

continuous with, the similar classification of the castes above them, as Brâhmans, Banyas, and Rajputs, and of the classes below them, as Tarkhâns, Chamârs, and so forth. But we must know more of the early distribution of the tribes before we can have any opinion on the subject. I have noticed in the early historians a connection between the migrations and location of Gûjars and Râjputs, which has struck me as being more than accidental, and Mr. Wilson notes that the Gûjars and the Bargûjar tribe of Râjputs are often found together, and suggests that the latter may be to the Gûjars what the Khânzâdas are to the Meos, and what most Râjputs are to the Jâts."

4. In these Provinces they do not, as a rule, claim to be Râjputs: but say they are descended from a Râjput father and a woman of some low caste. The Kalsân branch, in Muzaffarnagar, claim descent from Kalsa, a Râjput chief. "The Râwal Gûjars of Pânipat say that they are descended from a Khokhar Râjput (a clan which has been considered the same as the notorious Ghakkar); the Chhokar from a Jâdon; the Chamâyan from a Tomar; the Kulsiyân of Kairâna and the Mâvi from a Chauhân; the Pilwân from a Pundîr; the Adhâna from a Bargûjar, and the Bhatti from Râja Kansal, a Bhatti Râjput from Jaysalmer."[1] Besides this an examination of the sections shows that it includes the names of many well-known Râjput septs, such as Bâgri, Bais, Chandel, Chauhân, and Tomar.

5. On the whole it seems probable that in the Panjâb and in the Western Districts of these Provinces, at least, the tribe is fairly free from intermixture with the lower races. Mr. Ibbetson describes the Gûjar as "a fine, stalwart fellow of precisely the same physical type as the Jât, and the theory of aboriginal descent which has sometimes been propounded, is to my mind conclusively negatived by his cast of countenance. He is of the same social condition as the Jât, or perhaps slightly inferior; but the two eat and drink together in common without any scruple, and the proverb says:—"The Jât, the Gûjar, the Ahîr, and Gola, are all four hail fellows well met." Of the Kashmîr Gûjars Mr. Drew[2] writes:—"The race is Aryan, but their countenance cannot be called high Aryan; their forehead is narrow; they want the well-formed

[1] Elliot, *Supplementary Glossary*, s.v.
[2] *Jammu*, 199, *sq.*

brow of the finer races. The lower part of the face is narrow, too; but the nose has always something of the curve as is often seen in Aryan nations. Some I met with had lighter eyes than are common among the other tribes of the country, and generally their beard was scant. In figure they are tall and gaunt, in motion slow and ungainly. They are rather surly in disposition, having that kind of independence which consists in liking to be left alone, and to have as little as possible to do with other races. When, however, one does come in contact with them they are not bad to deal with." On the other hand, the eastern branch of the tribe, and particularly those who have become Muhammadans, appear to be very much mixed in blood.

Tribal organisation.

6. Like many castes which have a preference for seven or one of its multiples, the Gûjars pretend to have eighty-four exogamous *gotras* or sections. It has been found impossible to procure any consistent or definite list of these. In the appendix to this article three lists are given, two of the Hindu Gûjars of the Upper Duâb, one from Bulandshahr, and the other collated from Sir H. M. Elliot's account of the tribe; the third of the Musalmân Gûjars of Sultânpur. The Census lists contain no less than 1,178 *gotras* of the Hindu and 380 of the Muhammadan branch. Of these those locally of most importance are the Batar, Buchar, Chhotkana, Hamar, Kanas, Khatâna, Khûbar, Rathê, and Râwal, in Sahâranpur: the Kalsiyân and Khûbar, of Muzaffarnagar, the Adhâna, Bhatti, Chandela, Dhandhal, Hela, Kasâna, Kharê, Khûbar, Marsi, and Nagari, of Meerut: the Adhâna, Bhadâna, Bhatti, Kasâna, and Nagari, of Bulandshahr: the Tomar, of Mathura: the Dalel and Pomar, of Agra: the Lohâr, of Jâlaun. It will be seen that the names differ almost all through the lists. Most of these names are said to be derived from the titles of tribal leaders or from the villages in which their early settlements were formed. It is now impossible to identify many of these with any degree of certainty. The most important sections in the Upper Duâb are the Bhatti, who claim descent from Bhatti Râjputs, and date their settlement from the time of Prithivi Râja. One of them was given the office of "thief taker" (*chormâri*) by the Emperor Shâh Alam. The Nagari say that they are the illegitimate descendants of Râja Nâgrâj, fourth in descent from Anikpâl Tomar of Delhi. They date their immigration from Hastinapur in 799 A.D., when they expelled the aboriginal

Botiyas, with whom and the Gûjars they intermarried and thus became degraded. The Nadwasiya claim to be Panwâr Râjputs, and are said to have come from Badli in the thirteenth century, and settled on the banks of the Kâlinadi, whence they take their name.[1] It also appears that hypergamy occurs among some of the sections; thus in Sahâranpur the Kalsiyân, Khaprâê, Râthi, and Rausê sections hold the highest rank and intermarry, while the Kalsiyân will not give their daughters to the Chhokar, Diveru, and Dâpu sections. The sections, as already stated, are exogamous; but they have an additional formula of exogamy, which is thus stated by the Sahâranpur branch of the tribe. A girl may be married who is not of the *gotra* of the paternal or maternal ancestors of the boy within six generations, or who is not shown by her family name to be of the same stock as his father or mother. But this rule seems not to be of general application. In Bulandshahr a man will not marry within his own section or that of his maternal uncle; but the chief rule which seems to be most generally observed is that a man will not marry in his own village and will not give a bride to a family from which within ordinary memory they have received a bride. On the other hand, there seems no doubt that Gûjars are very lax in their matrimonial arrangements. The infanticide reports swarm with instances of those clans, who used to practice this form of crime, supplying the resultant want of wives by the introduction of women of other castes, and even now-a-days when infanticide has practically disappeared, as is believed, among them, they take concubines freely from other castes, and their offspring are in most cases recognised as legitimate.[2]

Polyandry.

7. Another social arrangement arising from the same cause is polyandry, of which we have perhaps the only well established instance among the Hindus of the plains. On this subject Râja Lachhman Sinh, who is a most competent authority regarding the Hindus of the Bulandshahr District, has kindly furnished the following note:—

"I was assured on the spot that in almost every Gûjar village in the vicinity of the Jumna, in the Bulandshahr District, polyandry was a fact. The custom was mainly due to the scarcity of women in the tribe, and this scarcity was the result of female infanticide,

[1] Râja Lachhman Sinh, *Bulandshahr Memo.*, 175, *sq.*

[2] At the same time it is significant that at the last Census the Hindu Gûjars showed 160,573 males to 119,540 females.

which several sections of the caste practised very largely before the passing of the Infanticide Act of 1870. Polyandry was not recognised as an acknowledged or legal custom; but if adopted in a village the neighbours made no objection to it, nor was it considered a serious scandal. It was to the benefit of the married brother and his wife that all the brothers should live together, and that the joint earnings should be enjoyed by the single wife and her children. It was through this feeling of self-interest that the wife and her real husband permitted the other brothers to share her favours. The custom prevailed only among the poorer families, the male members of which found it difficult to get married in consequence of the scarcity of girls in the caste, and also from the natural desire of parents to marry their daughters to as affluent persons as possible. Brothers only and not other relations or strangers were allowed to be the joint husbands. The wife was formally married to one of the brothers, usually to the eldest, if he were not too old, and her children were known as his children only, though he as well as the other brothers knew that she was at the disposal of all of them. Now as the Infanticide Act has put a stop to the murder of infant girls the scarcity of women is no longer felt, the custom of polyandry is dying out, and will soon be a thing of the past. While making these enquiries I was struck with the fact that polyandry did not, as might have been expected to be the case, affect the child-bearing powers of the women who practised it, that is to say, these women gave birth to as many children as those who had but a single husband. I questioned my informants on this subject, and was informed that the visits of the brothers were not so frequent as to produce any effect of this kind."[1]

Marriage.

8. Girls are allowed no freedom before marriage, and an unmarried girl detected in immorality is expelled from the community. It is only if her lover be a member of the tribe that she can be restored and remarried in the tribe if her parents feed the clansmen. Marriage usually takes place between the age of nine and sixteen. A wife may procure a separation if her husband be impotent, and he can put her away for infidelity proved to the satisfaction of the brethren. Widow-marriage and the levirate under the usual restriction are

[1] On this fraternal polyandry, see Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 472, *sqq.*

permitted. Betrothal consists in the acceptance of a sum of money in the presence of the brethren, and then the girl's barber, who acts as envoy, makes a knot in the boy's sheet, which clenches the engagement. The marriage is of the usual respectable form, and the binding part of the ceremony is the giving away of the bride (*kanyâdân*), and the usual procession of the pair (*bhanwari*) round the marriage shed.

Birth.

9. There are no ceremonies during pregnancy except an occasional vow to do some act if the delivery be easy. The mother is secluded for ten days, but is not allowed to cook or enter the cooking room for thirty days more. If the first child be a boy the women of the clan assemble daily and sing songs of rejoicing as long as the seclusion of the mother lasts. The family priest offers some *dûb* grass to the father as a sign of congratulation, and receives a present in return. On the third day the bed of the mother is moved with a rite known as "the coming out" (*bâhar nikalna*). On the tenth day the confinement room is purified by being plastered with cow-dung, and Ganges water is sprinkled on the clothes and utensils of the household. A Brâhman is called in, who recites some verses and does a fire sacrifice (*hom*), casts the horoscope of the child, after which some Brâhmans are fed.

Death.

10. Gûjars cremate their dead, and all the rites are of normal type. They perform the *srâddha*, and some even go on pilgrimages to Gaya for that purpose.

Religion.

11. In religion they appear to be usually Saivas or Sâktas, and are particularly careful in the worship of Sîtala Bhawâni, the small-pox goddess. Among minor gods they worship Châmar, but their real tribal worship is that of Pyârêji[1] and Bâba Sabha Râm. The temple of Pyârêji is at Randewa, the parent (*thâka*) village of the Dâpu Gûjars, equidistant between Nakur and Ambahta, in the Sahâranpur District. His father, Râmji Padârath, born in Sambat 1545, at Durjanpur, in Pargana Burhâna, of the Muzaffarnagar District, disappeared suddenly after his birth. The consternation of the infant's father, Sajan, a rope-seller (*bâdhfarosh*) was, as may be imagined, great. In six days he mysteriously reappeared. After

1 There is a good account of the saint in *Calcutta Review*, LVII, 207.

this he was put to herd cattle. One day the herd strayed into a sugarcane field, and the owner made a complaint. Before the official sent to make an investigation could reach the spot, the crop was miraculously restored. The lad then gained many disciples, and he married a daughter of Bhawâni Dâs, rope-seller of Khudi-Shikârpur. Their son was Raghu Nâth, and his son, the famous Pyârêji. About this time there was a feud between the Gûjars and Brâhmans of Sadarpur, in the course of which the Gûjars, having invited the Brâhmans to a feast, treacherously murdered several of them. Their ghosts avenged themselves in the form of terrible Râkshasas, and the Gûjars were in such evil plight that hearing of the fame of Pyârêji, they invited him to take them under his protection. He expelled the demons, and Sadarpur regained its former prosperity, so that its name was changed to Annadeva, "lord of grain," of which Randeva is said to be a corruption. Pyârêji died there, and prayers are said and offerings made before his cenotaph. His son, Lâlji, having no male issue bequeathed everything to his wife. Jada Bairâgi managed her affairs, and the people elected one of his disciples, Hargovind, to succeed him. Ever since the appointment has been in the hands of the people of the Bâdhfarosh clan, descended from Madâri, brother of Pyârêji, and the brothers of his son's widow. They own one-third of the village; the Mahants two-thirds. The Saint's followers are Vaishnavas, and wear black necklaces. His holiday is on the sixth of the dark fortnight of Chait. Bâba Sabha Râm, another tribal worthy, has a shrine on the banks of the Jumna, in the Ambâla District, where the Gûjars make occasional pilgrimages.

Social status and occupation.

12. The Gûjars as a tribe have always been noted for their turbulence and habit of cattle-stealing. Bâbar[1] in his *Memoirs* describes how the commander of the rear guard captured a few Gûjar ruffians who followed the camp, decapitated them and sent their heads to the Emperor. The Gûjars of Pâli and Pâhal became exceedingly audacious while Shîr Shâh was fortifying Delhi, so he marched to the Hills and expelled them so that "not a vestige of their habitations was left."[2] Jahângîr[3] remarks that the Gûjars live chiefly on milk and curds and

[1] Dowson's *Elliot*, IV, 231—240.
[2] *Ibid*, IV, 477.
[3] *Ibid*, VI, 303.

seldom cultivate land; and Bâbar[1] says:—"Every time I entered Hindustân the Jâts and Gûjars have regularly poured down in prodigious numbers from the Hills and wilds to carry off oxen and buffaloes. These were the wretches that really inflicted the chief hardships and were guilty of the chief oppression in the country." They maintained their old reputation in the Mutiny when they perpetrated numerous outrages and seriously impeded the operations of the British Army before Delhi. According to the current wisdom of the country side he is an undesirable neighbour—

Kutta billi do; Gûjar Rânghar do,
Yé char na ho to khulé kiwâré so.

"The dog and the cat, the Gûjar and the Rânghar, if these four were out of the world a man might sleep with his doors open."

Yâr Dom ne kîna Gûjar,
Chura chura ghar kardiya ûjar.

"When the Dom made friends with the Gûjar he was robbed of house and home."

The Gûjar though in popular estimation very closely connected with the Jât is yet much inferior to him in every way. The proverb runs,—

Huqqa, sukka, hurkani, Gûjar aur Jât,
In men atak kaha, Jagannâth ka bhât.

"Pipe, tobacco, courtesan, the Gûjar and the Jât are all one like the rice of Jagannâth's temple which all castes may eat together."

The Gûjar is in fact more a man of flocks and herds than the Jât, who is one of the most industrious and skilled cultivators in the province. They will drink spirits and eat mutton, pork, and fowls. They can in most places eat, drink, and smoke with Ahîrs and Jâts. In Bhartpur the Kharê Gûjars are inferior to the Laur, being principally engaged in making butter and ghi, which their women sell, and which is looked on by the others as derogatory. They have a curious custom of making a cow of cowdung, covering it with cotton and going through the process of killing it—a custom which seems to show that the reveren[illegible] for the cow which they now profess may be of comparatively mo[illegible] growth.[2]

[1] Leyden's *B[illegible]*

[2] *Rajputâ[illegible]* 162.

Musalmân Gûjars.

13. The Musalmân Gûjars are most numerous in Oudh and the Meerut Division. They were apparently converted to Islâm at various times; but their tradition in Oudh attributes this to the compulsion of Timur when he attacked Delhi and converted all the people in the neighbourhood by force. Some of them still maintain their Hindu sections and regulate their marriages by them as their Hindu brethren do; but in some places this is being replaced by the Muhammadan law of prohibited degrees. They are mostly Sunnis, and Sunni will not intermarry with Shiah families. In spite of their conversion they retain a number of their old tribal practices. When the bride arrives at the house of her husband her mother-in-law does the wave ceremony (*parachhan*) over her head to scare evil spirits, and then takes her into the household chapel (*deoghar*), where she worships the guardian deities of the family, for whom they still retain respect. After this the husband's mother is allowed to see the face of the bride for the first time, and gives her a present. Widows marry by the *nikâh* rite, and the levirate is allowed. Some families retain the rule that the elder brother cannot marry the widow of his younger brother, but this is violated by some of the tribe in Oudh.

14. When a baby is born the Chamârin is called in and bathes the child in a broken earthen pot (*khapra*): in this the father puts two pice (*khaprê ka taka*), which are the fee of the midwife. Then the Pandit is asked to fix a lucky time for the first bathing (*nahân*) of the mother, and he again has to fix a time, generally on the twelfth day, when she leaves her room. When a boy is four or five years of age he is circumcised in the usual way.

15. Betrothal is done on a lucky day fixed by the Pandit, and the only rite is that the fathers exchange cups of spirits. When the procession arrives at the house of the bride the usual door rite (*duâr ka châr*) is performed, and after the document fixing the dower (*mahr*) payable on divorce is drawn up, the Qâzi reads the *nikâh* in the ordinary way.

16. They bury their dead. When the burial is over they make a fire offering (*agyâri*) by burning incense in the name of the dead, and after waiting a short time they upset a pitcher of water near the grave.

17. They visit the shrine of Ghâzi Miyân at Bahrâich, and offer there sweet cakes (*malîda*). They also venerate various local saints and martyrs, such as Alâ-ud-dîn Shahîd, Madâr Shâh, and Buddhi

Chandra Bâba. They employ Sarwariya and Sanâdh Brâhmans to give them omens and propitiate the family gods. They so far observe the Holi and Nâgpanchami festivals that on those days they do not work. On Fridays they make offerings of food to their deceased ancestors, and when a death occurs in their family they feed beggars in the hope that the food will through them reach the dead man in the world of the dead.

18. They observe the ordinary Muhammadan rules about food, and will eat with any Musalmân except a Dhobi, Dhuniya, or Mehtar.

Gûjar Sections.

Sultânpur.	Bulandshahr.	Sir H. M. Elliot.
	Adhâna.	Adhâna.
Akiya.		
Amota.	Anbauta.	
Awâna.	Badhurê.	Badkâna.
Bâgri	Bahla.	
Bajâr.	Bahrana.	
	Baisâho.	
Banya.	Baislo.	Baisle.
Barakat.	Bâsakta.	Balesar.
	Bharaila.	Barsoi.
Bokan.	Bhâti.	Bhatâr.
	Bukar.	Bhatti.
Chauhân.	Chandela.	Chamâyan.
Chhânchhi.	Chaprâna.	Chechi.
Chhokar.	Chhâchhi.	Chhokar.
	Chhâorê.	Chotkanê.
	Chhokar.	
Dhandhar.	Dahariya.	Dedê.
	Dhaggs.	

Gujar Sections—contd.

Sultânpur.	Bulandshahr.	Sir H. M. Elliot.
	Dhatrewa.	
	Dohla.	
	Dorauta.	
	Ghorarûp.	
	Gursi.	Gorsi.
	Hun.	
Jângar.	.....	Jâtli.
Jauhar.	Jauhar.	Jindhar.
Jhahangha.	Jawâra.	
Joya.		
Kahâri.	Kahârê.	Kadâhan.
Kâras.	Kaitheriya.	Kalsiyân.
Katariya.	Kalyâna.	Kanâna.
	Kapâsiya.	
	Karahina.	
	Kasâna.	Kasauni.
	Kharsâna.	Kharê.
Khatâna.	Khatâna.	Khatâna.
Khokar.	Khogar.	
Kori.		Khûbar.
	Lohmaurê.	Kusânê.
	Mâvi.	Mahainsi.
Mewâti.	Modâr.	Motê.
Mûdan.	Mudhan.	Mûndan.
	Munrera.	
Pandêpûta.	Nâgarê.	Nâgarê. ...
Pasuâr.	Patâo.	Pilwân.

Gujar Sections—concld.

Sultânpur.	Bulandshahr.	Sir H. M. Elliot.
Phagna.	Phagna.	Pûrbar.
Phular.	Puswâr.	
Râthi.	Râthi.	Râthi.
	Raunso.	Rausê.
		Râwal.
Sakarwâr.		
Sardawa.	Sarândhina.	Sukul.
Sarwan.		Surâdnê.
	Tomar.	Tauhar.
	Tungar.	
Untwâr.		

Distribution of Gûjars according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	527	439	966
Sahâranpur	57,053	18,454	75,507
Muzaffarnagar	27,856	13,239	41,065
Meerut	69,387	65	69,452
Bulandshahr	46,632	...	46,632
Aligarh	11,397	11	11,408
Mathura	7,430	23	7,453
Agra	13,238	1	13,239
Farrukhâbâd	83	28	111
Mainpuri	111	...	111
Etâwah	3,113	...	3,113
Etah	9	22	31
Bareilly	7,361	...	7,361

Distribution of Gûjars according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Bijnor	6,265	360	6,625
Budâun	2,821	38	2,859
Morâdâbâd	11,499	339	11,838
Shâhjalânpur	3,255	...	3,255
Pilibhît	3,460	...	3,460
Cawnpur	278	10	288
Fatehpur	2	...	2
Banda	135	...	135
Hamîrpur	12	...	12
Allahâbâd	39	55	94
Jhânsi	747	4	751
Jâlaun	5,696	8	5,704
Lalitpur	229	...	229
Benares	...	37	37
Mirzapur	368	...	368
Jaunpur	...	41	41
Ghâzipur	...	2	2
Gorakhpur	24	2,248	2,272
Basti	...	705	705
Azamgarh	2	675	677
Garhwâl	...	145	145
Tarâi	973	22	995
Lucknow	7	280	287
Unâo	...	10	10
Râê Bareli . . .	...	11,959	11,959
Sîtapur	1	...	1
Hardoi	110	...	110
Faizâbâd	...	229	229

Distribution of Gujars according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Bahrâich	23	1,884	1,907
Sultânpur	...	8,108	8,108
Partâbgarh	...	344	344
Bârabanki	...	4,639	4,639
Total .	280,113	64,424	344,537

Gujarâti.—A sub-caste of Banyas who take their name from their place of origin, Gujarât. There are a large number of them in Bombay, where they bear a poor reputation. They are usually Jainas, and much opposed to the killing of animals. Mr. Sinclair[1] describes them—"The males are usually gross in face and the women featureless and clumsy." Their chief settlement in these Provinces is at Benares, where they are generally Vallabhachâryas. They are keen, perhaps excessively keen, men of business, and strongly inclined to a fanatical observance of their creed.

Distribution of the Gujarâti Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	3	Jâlaun . . .	1
Sahâranpur . . .	12	Benares . . .	459
Aligarh . . .	6	Jaunpur . . .	1
Mathura . . .	72	Ghâzipur . . .	3
Agra	46	Basti	1
Etâwah . . .	5	Azamgarh . . .	1
Morâdâbâd . . .	92	Lucknow . . .	11
Shâhjahânpur . .	3	Sîtapur . . .	1
Hamîrpur . . .	1	Bahrâich . . .	1
Allahâbâd . . .	4	Total .	723

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, March 1874.

Gujarâti.—A territorial division of Brâhmans, those of Gurjarâshtra or Gujarât. Of the Gurjara Brâhmans Dr. Wilson says[1]—"In the general classification of the Brâhmans usually current the Gurjara Brâhmans are said to belong to the Pancha Dravida, though the greater portion of Gujarât lies to the north of the River Narmada and the Vindhya range. An examination of them in detail shows, however, that not a few of their castes belong to the Pancha Gauda, while some of them have been so long isolated from the other Brâhmanical fraternities that they have lost sight altogether of their former connections. They are generally estimated at eighty-four in number."

2. To quote the best account of this class of Brâhmans in their native home[2]—"In Sholapur the Gujarâti Brâhmans are divided into Audich Nâgar, and Srimali. The names of their family stocks are Bharadvâja, Kapila, and Vasishtha, and persons belonging to the same family stock cannot intermarry. Their surnames are Achârya, Bhat, Pandya, Râul, Thâkur, and Vyâs; and families bearing the same surname can intermarry provided their family stock or *gotra* is different both on the father's and on the mother's sides. They are generally fair, with regular features, and neither very strong nor tall. The men wear the moustache, whiskers and beard. The topknot covers three-fourths of the head, and the hair is black and sometimes curly. The women are fairer than the men, with delicate features, oval face, and small hands and feet.

The Bombay Gujarâti Brâhmans.

3. "Their home tongue is Gujarâti, but out-of-doors they speak Hindustâni or Marâthi mixed with Gujarâti. They do not own houses, but live in houses of the middle sort, one story high with mud and stone walls and flat roofs. Their house goods consist of a wooden box or two, one or two cotton bags, a carpet, some pieces of sack-cloth, woollen waistcloths, and a few metal vessels. They keep neither servants nor domestic animals. They are vegetarians, and their staple food is rice, wheat-bread, pulse, butter, sugar or molasses. Their favourite spices are black pepper, cloves, and cinnamon. They generally eat once in the afternoon. They avoid onions, garlic, and *masûr* pulse, and use no intoxicating drinks. Many drink hemp water at midday and in the afternoon, but eat

[1] *Indian Caste*, II, 91, *sq.*
[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, XX, 30.

opium often twice a day—in the morning after bathing and in the afternoon. They neither chew nor smoke tobacco.

3. "The men dress in an irregular, carelessly folded turban, with the end left dangling a foot or a foot and-a-half from the head. It is shorter and not half so broad as the Deccan turban, and is called *batti* or "the lamp," because if twisted it would be no thicker than an ordinary lampwick. They wear a fine, white coat reaching to the knees, with creases at the waist; the waistcloth, which is twelve feet long, is worn doubled as Kunbis wear it; the shoulder-cloth is an old waistcloth doubled to make it look short; and their shoes are not double-toed like the Deccan shoes, and have a top to the heel. They generally wear a *rudrâksha* rosary round their neck. Their women wear the hair in a braid, which they afterwards either twist into a knot, or leave hanging down the waist. They do not wear false hair, or deck their heads either with ornaments or flowers. Their dress includes a petticoat or a short robe, whose skirt they do not pass between the feet; they draw a cloak (*orhni*) over the head, and wear a short-sleeved, open-backed boddice. The robe is twelve feet long, or only half as long as a Deccan woman's robe. They sometimes buy a Deccan robe, cut it in two and wear the cut end inside, and the bordered or ornamental end outside, drawn from the left over the head, leaving the left arm bare. The left arm is loaded with ornaments, while the right has no ornaments. Their ornaments are worth ₹200—1,000, or more.

4. "These Gujarâti Brâhmans are extremely careful and frugal; they are neither neat nor clean, but sober, thrifty and orderly. They are beggars, astrologers, family priests, and cooks. They are well paid by their Banya patrons, and are free from debt, and generally carry back considerable sums to their native country. They are a religious people. Their family deities are Amba Bâi and Bâlaji, and they worship all Brâhman gods and goddesses, and keep all fasts and festivals. Their priests belong to their own caste, and they go on pilgrimage to Benares, Nâsik, Pândharpur, and Tuljapur. They believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens and lucky and unlucky days, and consult oracles. They are bound together by a strong caste feeling, and settle social disputes at meetings of caste men, and punish breaches of caste rules by fines varying from one to fifty rupees, which are spent on sweetmeats or in the repairs of their temples. They send their boys to school,

but do not keep them long there. They take to no new pursuits, and are in easy circumstances."

The Gujarâti Brâhmans in the Panjâb.

5. "The Gujarâti or Byâs Brâhmans who come from Gujarât in Sindh are in some respects the highest of all Brâhmans; they are always fed first; and they bless a Gaur when they meet him, while they will not eat ordinary food from his hands. They are fed on the twelfth day after death, and the Gaurs will not eat on the thirteenth day if this has not been done. But they take inauspicious offerings. To them appertain especially the Râhu offerings made at an eclipse. They will not take oil, sesame, goats, or green or dirty clothes; but will take old clothes, if washed, buffaloes, and the seven varieties of grain (*satnaja*). They also take a special offering to Râhu made by a sick person, who puts gold in ghi, looks at his face in it, and gives it to a Gujarâti, or who weighs himself against *satnaja* and makes an offering of the grain. A buffalo which has been possessed by a devil to that degree that he has got on the top of a house (no difficult feat in a village) or a foal dropped in the month of Sâwan, or buffalo calf in Mâgh, are given to the Gujarâti as being unlucky. No Gaur would take them. At every harvest the Gujarâti takes a small allowance (*seori*) of grain from the threshing floor, just as does the Gaur."[1]

The Central India Gujarâti Brâhmans.

6. Of the Gujarâti Brâhmans of Central India Sir J. Malcolm writes[2]:—"Some are employed in the offices of religion, while others trade and gain a respectable livelihood as writers and accountants. Many of the Mârwâr and Jodhpur Brâhmans are also traders; but the great mass from that country as well as from Udaypur are labourers and cultivators, forming indeed a very considerable proportion of the most industrious husbandmen of Central India."

The Gujarâti Brâhmans of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

7. The Gujarâti Brâhmans of these Provinces are most numerous according to the last Census in the Upper and Central Ganges-Jumna Duâb. They trace their origin to a sacrifice said to have been performed by Râja Mûla Deva or Mûl Râj Solankhi, who reigned early in the 10th century A. D. For

[1] Ibbetson, *Panjâb Ethnography*, para. 513.
[2] *Central India*, II, 122.

this rite he is said to have collected one thousand Brâhmans, of whom two hundred were Kanaujiya, one hundred from Benares, one hundred and five from the Duâb, one hundred from Mathura, one hundred Sarwariya, sixty-nine from Kurukshetra, one hundred from Ajudhya, and one hundred and thirty-two from Pushkar. He worshipped their feet and settled them in his kingdom. To some he gave Sihor, and their descendants form the Sihoriya branch; a few rejected his gifts for a time; but he persuaded them at last and gave them Cambay and twelve dependent villages. They were called Tolakiya and form a separate division. Some others he settled at Sidhpur, and they are hence called Sidhpuriya. The following is a list of the *gotras* of the Sidhpuriya Gujarâtis as far as it has been possible to ascertain them in these Provinces—Bhrigu, with the title Dûbê; Bhârgava, Dûbê; Kausika, Pânrê; Daribhya, Tivâri; Gautam, Dûbê; Vatsa, Thâkur; Parâsara, Dûbê; Bharadwâja, Dûbê; Sândilya, Thâkur; Saunaka, Pânrê; Vasishtha, Tivâri; Maunas, Thâkur; Jani, Garggotra; Katasas, Dûbê; Udvah, Dûbê; Krishnâtri, Dûbê; Kaudinya, Dûbê; Mandavya, Pânrê or Pandit; Upamanyu, Pânrê; Svetatreya, Dûbê. This, it will be seen, differs considerably from Mr. Sherring's Benares lists, and illustrates the difficulty of obtaining precise information on such points.

8. The Sihoriya Gujarâtis are again divided into the following *gotras*:—Krishnâtri, Garga, Bharadwâja, Svetatri.

9. It is also said that after their emigration into these provinces they fell into two groups, the Bara Samudaya, or superior group, and the Chhota Samudaya, or inferior group. One colony of them, settled at Anupshahr, in the Bulandshahr District, are said to use arms like Kshatriyas, and to devote most of their time to athletic exercises, which is not the case with the ordinary Gujarâtis.

The Nâgar Brâhmans.

10. The Nâgar Brâhmans, again, are usually classed as a sub-tribe of the Gujarâtis. "Nâgara," writes Dr. Wilson,[1] "is the adjective form of *nagar*, "a city." It is applied to several principal castes of Brâhmans in Gujarât, getting their designations respectively from certain towns in the north-east portion of that province." Thus there are the Vadanagara, who take their name from the city of Vadanagar, lying to the east of Anhilvâda Pattana; the Visalnagar, from the town of Visal; the Satodra, from the town of Satod, on the Narmada; the

[1] *Indian Castes*, II, 96.

Prashnora of Prashnora; the Krishnora of Krishnapura; the Chitroda of Chitrod; the Barada, the result of a split between the Visalnagar and the Vadanagara.

11. In Gujarât[1] the "Nâgar Brâhmans will not take food from any other Brâhman, and are very strict in their observances. Of these the most strict is what is called the *naven* or purity in respect of food. Having bathed he dresses himself in silk or woollen clothes, or, if he is required to use cotton garments, they must be dipped in water, wrung out and dried in some place where nothing impure can touch them. Thus habited he sits down to dinner; but he must preserve himself from numerous accidents which would render him impure and compel him to desist from his meal. If he touch an earthen vessel he is impure, unless the vessel have never contained water. The touch of a piece of cotton cloth, or of a piece of leather or paper, which he may have accidentally sat down upon, renders him impure. But if Hindu letters have been written on the paper, they preserve him from defilement, because they represent Sâraswati. If, however, letters be written on cloth or leather, they remain impure. Thus, if the Gîta or any portion of Scripture be required for use at the time, it must be bound with silk and not with cotton; leather must be avoided, and instead of a common paste of flour and water the binder must employ paste of pounded tamarind seed. A printed book will not answer his purpose, because printing ink contains impure matter. Some think that the touch of a deer or tiger skin does not defile. Raw cotton does not render him impure; but if it has been twisted for the wick of a lamp by a person not in a state of ceremonial purity, it does; and, again, if it have been dipped in oil or clarified butter, it does not. Bones defile, but women's ivory armlets do not, except in those parts of the country where they are not usually worn. The touch of a child of the same caste, who has not learned to eat grain, does not defile, but if the child have eaten grain, it does. The touch of donkey, a pig, or a dog defiles; some say that the touch of a cat also defiles; others are inclined to think it does not, because, in truth, it is not easy to keep the cat out. If a Brâhman who is pure be eating or if he has risen from eating, the touch of his person defiles another Brâhman who is pure, but has not begun his dinner."

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[1] Forbes, *Râsmâla*, II, 258.

12. The Benares Nâgar Brâhmans are said to be divided into two distinct classes, the Bhikhshu or "mendicants," and the Mahta. The latter opposed Mahmûd of Ghazni when he attacked Vadanagara, and thus lost the peaceful habits of life which still characterise the Bhikhshu class.

13. The following account of the domestic rites of the Gujarâti Brâhmans was given by a member of the tribe resident at Mirzapur :—"When a bride after joining her husband menstruates, she becomes pure by bathing on the fourth day. At the same time she worships Ganesa and the patron goddesses of the tribe. Ganesa is worshipped with an offering of water, washed rice, sandalwood, flowers, incense, and lamps. The worship of the goddesses is more intricate. A red cloth is spread over a wooden seat (*pîṭha*), and on it sixteen compartments are marked out with powdered rice. In each compartment is placed some rice dyed with red (*rori*), and on the top of each pile of rice a betel-nut. The seat is placed beside the wall of the room. On the wall a set of spots of red are made in the form of a triangle, of which the base has seven marks, diminishing by one at a time up to the apex. On these marks the woman pours an oblation of ghi. This is known as *basodhara*. Next the betel-nuts on the seat are worshipped with an offering of incense, lights, sandalwood, curds, sugar, and rice. This done the woman is pure and is allowed to return to her house work.

Domestic ceremonies of the Gujarâti Brâhmans. Birth.

14. "When a woman becomes pregnant for the first time, and when the eighth month of pregnancy arrives, the *srimant* rite is performed. This is accompanied by the *nandi mukh srâddha* and the *graha sânti*—rites intended to guard the embryo from injury Some fruit of the Dhâk and Anwla trees, millet, curd, washed rice and saffron are pounded and mixed in a ball. Then twelve betel-nuts are placed on twelve betel-leaves, and a portion of the mixture is offered to each. These twelve betel-nuts are supposed to represent the twelve relations of the unborn child, that is, six generations on the side of the father and six on that of the mother. After this a fire sacrifice (*homa*) is performed, and two Brâhmans are fed in the name of each of the twelve ancestors. This constitutes the *nandimukh srâddha*.

15. "Next the expectant father and mother make nine compartments on a board, and each of the nine planets[1] is represented by a

[1] Of special planet worshippers 45,962 were shown at the last Census.

piece of cloth of a different colour. Each of these receives an appropriate offering. Then Sâraswati is worshipped in the form of a water jar with a spout, and to her the same offerings are made as to Ganesa. Then the officiating Brâhman repeats texts and sprinkles washed rice over the father and mother, and the jar (*kalasa*) is worshipped with an offering of a cocoanut, the emblem of fertility, and some red cloth.

16. "A small raised platform is next made in the courtyard, and on it three lines are drawn. From each line they take a pinch of dust and throw it on the ground. Some mango wood is then lighted on the platform. On the north side is placed a sacrificial vessel made of wood and known as *pranîta parokshoni*. With this a mixture of five different kinds of fruits, ghi, sugar, and incense are poured upon the fire. An offering is made in this way to all the deities, and the rite concludes with the feeding of Brâhmans.

17. "When the child is born the parents are instructed by the officiating priest to worship Ganesa and the tribal goddesses in the manner already described. They then worship the knife with which the umbilical cord was cut by the midwife, and to it is made the usual offering of incense, flowers, sandalwood, as in other cases. The mother during the period of seclusion after child-birth bathes three times—on the sixth, ninth, and twelfth day. At the sixth-day bath she offers an oblation of water (*argha*) to the Sun-god, Sûrya. She also does this at the subsequent bathings. On the twelfth day after bathing and making the oblation, four women of the tribe move over the head of the child the family pestle in order to scare evil spirits. The Chamâr midwife attends for three days, and after that her place is taken by the wife of the barber. If the child be a boy the midwife's fee is one rupee; for a girl four annas, On the twelfth day the Purohit or family priest produces the horoscope (*janam-pattri*) of the child, and is suitably rewarded.

18. "When the child, if a boy, is six months' old, the rite of "grain-feeding" (*annaprâsana*) is performed. Ganesa and the goddesses are worshipped in the way already described, by the parents, and then the father marks the baby's forehead with red powder. Then the mother, or some other lady of the house, takes the child in her lap and makes it lick some rice milk from a mango leaf.

The grain-feeding.

19. "In the third year the *mûnran* or hair shaving is done. The barber is sent for on an auspicious day and the parents do worship to his razor. After

The shaving.

the shaving is over the child is bathed and the usual worship of Ganesa and the tribal goddesses is performed. A fire sacrifice is done by the Brâhmans.

The ear-piercing.

20. "In the fifth year comes the rite of ear-piercing (*karnabedha*). The usual worship is performed; the child's ears are bored by a Sunâr; Brâhmans are fed, and the Sunâr gets a present.

Investiture with the sacred cord.

21. "In the eighth year of the boy's life comes the *upanayana* or investiture with the sacred cord. The usual worship of Ganesa and the tribal goddesses is performed as already described. Then the women of the household go to the house of the potter and worship his wheel (*châk*), which is regarded as an emblem of fertility. From there they bring two earthen jars, which are placed in a holy square (*chauk*) in the courtyard. This is done some twelve days or more before the actual initiation. On the day of the rite these jars are worshipped with the same offerings as those given to Ganesa. On the day of the rite the officiating priest makes two platforms of sand and clay facing north and south. The candidate for initiation with three other Brâhman boys is seated on the platform, and is fed on milk and boiled rice. The candidate is then shaved by the barber and bathes. He takes his seat on the platform and worships Ganesa and the nine planets. Then the officiating priest invests the boy with a sacred cord made of *mûnj* fibre (*Saccharum munja*) and a deer skin, thereby implying that he has entered the stage of the Brahmachâri. He again worships Ganesa and puts off the *mûnj* cord and the deer skin and receives a cotton cord. Next a stick of the wood of the *palâsa* (*Butea frondosa*), to the end of which a coloured thread (*raksha*) is tied, is placed on his shoulder, the inference being that he has reached the Sannyâsi stage. Then the priest whispers the *gâyatri mantra* into his ear at the first platform known as the *upanayana* and at the second (*rambha vedi*); he again worships Ganesa, and the priest putting some rice in a dish with his finger writes on it the *gâyatri mantra*. He is then made to do the fire sacrifice with the recital of the appropriate texts. Next the priest sprinkles the boy from the sacred jars with a bunch of *kusa* grass. In this water he bathes and cleans his teeth. He dresses, takes a bamboo stick (*dand*), and pretends to go to Benares to learn. He is dissuaded from doing this by his maternal uncle, who promises to

get him married. With the final worship of the tribal goddesses the rite concludes.

Marriage rites.

22. "The age for marriage is fourteen or sixteen for a boy and nine or ten for a girl. After the preliminary comparison of the horoscopes a day is fixed for the betrothal (*sagâi*). This is done by the girl's father sending to the father of the boy through his priest or some relative a sum in money, a cocoanut, and some sweetmeats. A piece of ground is plastered in the boy's courtyard, and upon that he sits and worships Ganesa. The girl's representative marks his forehead with red (*rori*) and puts the presents in the corner of his robe (*dopatta*), while the friends who have been admitted to the ceremony chant songs. The boy eats the sweetmeats and the friends are entertained. This completes the betrothal.

23. "After this the boy's father sends invitations to the persons who are asked to attend the procession (*bârât*). Distant friends usually come four days before the date fixed for this event. Then the boy's father informs the father of the bride of the date fixed for the rite of "setting up the little and the great Ganesa," presently to be described, and for the marriage.

24. "The bridegroom, his father and other friends go to the house of the bride four days before the wedding day. They are lodged in a garden or empty house close by. On their arrival some *sharbat* is sent for their refreshment from the house of the bride. Then the two fathers meet and embrace. Contrary to usual custom the ladies of the bridegroom's family also go on this occasion. They are also treated to *sharbat* by the ladies of the bride's household, and the mothers of the pair meet and embrace. Then the bride's father sets up in his courtyard a pole of bamboo fixed in the direction of the sun as pointed out by the family astrologer. On this pole wooden images of birds, parrots, etc., are fixed. The pole is stained with turmeric and near it is placed a water jar (*kalsa*) and a cocoanut. The technical name of the pole is *stambha*. In the room of the house reserved for the worship of the tribal goddesses two water jars are placed; one represents the great Ganesa, Bara Ganesa; the other the little Ganesa, Chhota Ganesa. Near them is a wooden seat (*pîrha*), on which is laid a cocoanut covered with a piece of red cloth. This represents some woman of the family who in former times has committed Sati. The father and mother of the bride offer to this Sati washed rice, sandalwood, water, flowers, and a

burnt offering (*homa*). Then the Navagraha or the nine planets are worshipped in the courtyard, and the father and mother of the bride, after bathing and putting on new clothes, do the fire sacrifice before them. Next all the ladies of the family and their female friends go to the potter's house and worship his wheel (*châk*) with water, washed rice, sandal, incense, flowers, and a lamp, and smear it with red powder (*rori*). Then they take twenty-eight jars from the potter, and on each of them a representation of Ganesa is made. The potter receives a suitable present. In each of these pitchers betel-nut and washed rice is placed, and on the mouth of each a small earthen saucer (*matuki*) is laid. The pitchers are then arranged in a square, seven on each side, and each row is bound together with a piece of bamboo. This is known as *chauri*. Inside this square the pair are made to sit. Before she takes her seat her mother and four other women of the tribe sprinkle her with a mixture of oil and turmeric from a wisp of *kusa* grass. The other women sing songs while this is being done. Then her body is rubbed with barley-flour, turmeric, and oil. The same rite is gone through for the boy in the place (*janwânsa*) where he is staying with his friends.

25. "When the lucky time for the marriage comes the pair are dressed in new clothes and a crown (*maur, mukut*) is placed on their heads. The boy goes to the house of the bride mounted on a mare. At the bride's door is placed a pole on which are hung some wooden images of birds. This the bridegroom knocks down with a stick—possibly a survival of marriage by capture. This pole is known as *toran*. When the bridegroom alights his mother-in-law comes to the door, holds him by his nose, and leading him in marks his forehead with red powder. Then he takes his seat in the square of vessels and does the fire sacrifice. The bride also comes into the square and sits on his left side. She also does a fire sacrifice. Then some henna (*menhdi*) is powdered and rubbed on her hands, and the hands of bridegroom are laid on her hands, while the priest recites the appropriate verses. Their robes are knotted together and they walk four times round the fire and do the fire sacrifice. Then they go into the family oratory and worship the household deities, and the bride goes with the bridegroom to the place where his party are staying, and there worships his family gods.

26. "Next morning the bridegroom bathes, and puts on a silk (*pitambar*) loin-cloth. The bride puts on a similar dress, and her

husband comes to her house and sits in the square (*chauri*) already described. The bride sits on his left, and her mother lays before them a dish of boiled rice and milk. Each of the pair feeds the other with this. This is known as the "rite of the fourth" (*chaturthi karma*). The dowry is next paid over; and if the bride is nubile, which is usually the case, she returns to his house with her husband. Next day he worships the Ganges or some other river, and the marriage rites come to an end."

Death ceremonies.

27. The dead are cremated in the ordinary way. When the burning is over the chief mourner offers to the spirit of the deceased a jar of water and a lamp for his use during the period of mourning. This pitcher he breaks with a stone. The stone is placed at the ghât where the chief mourner usually bathes. For ten days he pours water and sesamum (*tilanjuli*) on the stone, and on the tenth day, after offering a holy ball (*pinda*), he throws the stone into the river or tank near which it has been placed. On the eleventh day he offers eleven *pindas*, and the tribesmen are fed. On the twelfth day is the *pitra nirauni*, when four *pindas* are offered; three in the name of deceased ancestors and one in the name of the deceased. After offering them the chief mourner says:—"The deceased has now joined his sainted ancestors." Brâhmans are then fed. On the thirteenth day the chief mourner worships Ganesa, the nine planets, and the water jar (*kalasa*). The oldest man in the family marks his forehead, and he is invested with a turban, showing that he has taken the place of the dead man. Then he pours the water out of the sacred jar at the root of a *nîm* tree. Verses are repeated, and the rites are concluded with the worship of the tribal deity and the feeding of Brâhmans.

Distribution of Gujarâti Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	9	Bulundshahr . .	530
Sahâranpur . . .	343	Aligarh . . .	119
Muzaffarnagar . . .	321	Mathura . . .	209
Meerut . . .	731	Agra	336

Distribution of Gujarâti Brâhmâns according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Farrukhâbâd . .	669	Jâlaun . . .	100
Mainpuri . . .	133	Benares . . .	399
Etâwah . . .	26	Mirzapur . . .	1
Etah	57	Jaunpur . . .	32
Bareilly . . .	23	Ghâzipur . . .	2
Bijnor . . .	173	Gorakhpur . . .	3
Budâun . . .	12	Kumaun . . .	31
Morâdâbâd . . .	47	Tarâi	116
Shâjahânpur . .	364	Lucknow . . .	130
Pilibhît . . .	78	Unâo	180
Cawnpur . . .	235	Râê Bareli . . .	33
Fatehpur . . .	107	Sîtapur . . .	86
Bânda . . .	55	Hardoi . . .	802
Hamîrpur . . .	54	Kheri	195
Allahâbâd . . .	263	Bahrâich . . .	2
Jhânsi	38	Total .	7,044

Gurchha; Gurchhiya; Gorchha.[1]—A small tribe numbering only 963 persons and confined to the Kheri District. It is said that they were formerly known as Kules or Kalhans Chhatris, and having emigrated to Kheri from Gorakhpur they were known as Gorakhiya, which was subsequently corrupted into Gorchha. They say they came originally from Chithor and emigrated thence to Gorakhpur. They were once six brothers. When some enemy attacked them only two of the brothers assailed him and when they returned successful, they ejected their four cowardly brothers from their possessions, and the latter were obliged to leave their original home. Those in Kheri have severed all connections with their brethren elsewhere. They also say that they had once a set of annals of their race which was destroyed by fire when in charge of one Jaddan Gorchha.

[1] Based on a note by Bâbu Bâdri Nâth, Deputy Collector, Kheri.

2. Few of them can name any of their sub-castes or *gotras*.

Marriage rules.

The Census lists give Kalhans, Kanaujiya, and Subhân. Their rule of exogamy is that they cannot marry the children of their maternal uncle, and cannot marry their sons in a family to which they have already given a daughter as a bride. There is no restriction as to the number of wives a man may have; but they seldom have more than two. Immorality on the part of a girl before marriage is reprobated; if she intrigue with a clansman, her parents are obliged to pay a fine and give a feast; if her lover be a man of another caste, she is permanently expelled from the tribe. Marriage takes place at the age of ten or twelve, and is arranged by the parents of the couple. The bride is generally given some presents at marriage, which remain her own property. The offspring of connections with an outsider are not received in the tribe; and they do not admit strangers to caste rights. The levirate seems to be practically compulsory on the widow, who always lives with a relative of her late husband.

3. There is no ceremony during pregnancy. When a child is

Birth ceremonies.

born a barber is sent to the house of the mother of the bride to announce the fact; this is known as *lochana bhejna*, and he receives a present and takes back with him some clothes, food, etc., for the mother. The mother is isolated for twelve days after delivery, and they have the usual sixth (*chhathi*) and twelfth day (*barahi*) ceremonies. In the third or sixth month the paternal aunt of the child is expected to make it a present of clothes, etc., and a sheet for the mother. In the third year the ceremonial shaving (*mûndan*) of the child takes place; and in the third, fifth, or seventh year, its ears are bored (*kanchhedan*). They have no special adoption or initiation ceremony.

Marriage customs.

4. The marriage customs are of the usual respectable form.

5. Gurchhas are orthodox Hindus and worship Devi, Mahâdeva

Religion.

and Parameswar. Devi receives a sacrifice of goats, rams, and a burnt offering (*hom*) of butter, rice, barley, and sugar. To Mahâdeva are offered leaves of the *bel* tree and milk. To Parameswar they present cocoanuts, butter, betel leaves, milk, and sweetmeats. Devi is served by a Panda, Mahâdeva by a Gusâîn, Parameswar by a Brâhman. Those who are Bhagats offer only the ear of the victim. They do not kill the cow or eat beef, and will not cut down the *pîpal* or *bel* tree.

Social rules.

6. They drink spirits and eat goats, sheep, hares, fish, etc., but not fowls, jackals, or other vermin. When eating they offer a little to Bhagwân by throwing a morsel on the ground. They will not eat *kachchi* or *pakki* from any one but a clansman. They say they were once landholders; now they are only tenants, and some work as labourers and makers of mats.

Gurkha; Gorkha, (*gâu-raksha*, "keepers of cows").—The name for an aggregate of various races who inhabit the numerous valleys interspersed through the mountains of Nepâl. "The aboriginal inhabitants appear from their physiognomy to be of Tartar or Chinese origin, bearing no resemblance to the Hindu either in features, religion, or manners. The period when the mountainous regions were first invaded by the Hindus is uncertain; but according to the most authentic traditions, the date is supposed to have been about the 14th century. In the eastern part of the country the aboriginal tribes still remain; and, until the predominance of the Gurkhas, they enjoyed unmolested their customs and religion. But west of the Kâli river the case is different, almost all the inhabitants claiming a descent from Hindu colonists. They accordingly consist chiefly of the two superior classes of Hindus, Brâhmans, and Kshatriyas, with their various sub-divisions. East of the Kâli the tribes which possessed the country were chiefly (1) Magars, who occupied the lower hills in the western parts, and are at present enlisted by the Gurkha sovereigns, composing a great majority of their troops; (2) the Gurungs, a pastoral tribe; (3) the Newârs, an industrious people, following agriculture and commerce, and more advanced in the mechanical arts than the other mountain tribes; (4) the Dhenwârs and Mânjhis, the husbandmen and fishers of the western districts; (5) the Bhotiyas; (6) the Bhanras, a sept which branched off from the Newârs; (7) the Jariyas."[1]

Distribution of the Gurkhas according to the Census of 1891.[1]

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Agra . . .	1	Jhânsi	9
Allahâbâd . . .	262	Gorakhpur . . .	1,056
		Total .	1,328

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer*, VII, 106, *sq.*

Gusâîn; Gosâîn[1]— (Sanskrit *gosvâmin*, "lord of cows," or "one who is master of his senses or organs").— A term which is often used in an uncertain sense. Thus in the Panjâb Mr. Maclagan[2] writes:—

"The term may, roughly speaking, be said to denote an ascetic of any order, but with a slight implication that the ascetic is a man of some standing and influence. This, however, is by no means the universal meaning of the term; it is often used for a Sannyâsi and as often for a Bairâgi; not unfrequently it seems to denote a separate order different from either; and often the Brâhmans alone are considered entitled to be called Gosâins. On the whole, the commonest use of the word appears to be that which refers to the Bairâgis, who are of high caste, such as the Brâhmans."

2. It would seem that in this part of India the term Gusâin is generally restricted to the spiritual descendants of the famous Sankar Achârya. The common account is that Sankar Achârya had four disciples, Sarûpa Achârya, Padma Achârya, Naratroka Achârya, and Prithi Udra Achârya. The first, Sarûpa, was sent by the master towards Dwârika, and he had two disciples, Tîrtha and Asrama. Nanda Brahmachâri was their teacher. These Gosâîns do not wear sewed clothes, and have garments dyed in ochre. They will not eat *kachchi* cooked by any caste except Brâhmans, but will accept *pakki* from Banyas, Kâyasths, and the like. They do not pass more than one night in ordinary villages, but may stay three nights at regular places of pilgrimage. Their chief sacred places are Benares, Ajudhya, and Mathura. They do not touch with their hands any kind of metal, nor do they cook their own food, because they are prohibited from touching fire. They do not use intoxicating liquors or tobacco, and do not eat fish or meat of any kind. They carry a begging bowl (*kamandal*), wear a rosary of *rudrâksha* seeds, and smear their faces with ashes (*bhabhût*). They specially worship Nârâyana, and admit none but Brâhman initiates. They bury their dead. A grave is dug with a niche towards the south, in which an alms bowl is placed. The face of the corpse is turned towards the niche, and the body is covered with an ochre-coloured cloth. The grave is filled up with salt and a pot (*nâd*) placed at the top, which

[1] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Chaubê Dhyân Sinh, Honorary Magistrate, Morâdâbâd; Munshi Chhuttan Lâl, Deputy Collector, Unâo; Munshi Mahâdeva Prasâd, Head Master, Zillah School, Pilibhît.

[2] *Panjâb Census Report*, 124.

is covered with an earthen mound (*samâdh*). There are no further death ceremonies, except that after a year or two a feast (*bhandâr*) is given to the brethren.

3. The second disciple, Padma Achârya, had two disciples, Vana and Aranya, and Chetan Brahmachâri was their teacher. Their mode of life is like that of the Tîrtha and Asrama, but some of them have some property in Gonda and Bahrâich, which was granted to them by one of the Mughal Emperors.

4. Naratroka had three disciples Parvata, Giri, and Sâgara, and their teacher was Sarûpa Brahmachâri. The Barua, who are found in the Rohilkhand Districts, are said to be connected with these.

5. Pirthi Udra Achârya is said to have had three disciples, Ahoni, Bhârati, and Giri.

6. These ten sections, which are generally given as Tîratha, Asrama, Vana, Aranya, Sârasyati, Puri, Bhârati, Giri, Parvata, and Sâgara, constitute what is known as the Dasnâmi Gusâîns. The last Census classes under the head Gusâîn the Brindabani, Dasnâmi, Gauriya, Gokulastha, Niranjani, Râdhavallabhi, which have been separately discussed.

7. Gusâîns are both ascetics and family men; the former are generally known as Kutichâr, Asandhâri, or Mathdhâri, and the latter Grihastha. The head of the ascetic branch is called a Mahant, and he is generally appointed by the votes of his disciples (*Chela*).[1]

Mr. Sherring[2] describes the mode of initiation as follows:—

"The candidate is generally a boy, but may be an adult. At the Sivarâtri festival water brought from a tank in which an image has been deposited is applied to the head of the novitiate, which is thereupon shaved.

"The Guru or spiritual guide whispers to the disciple a sacred text (*mantra*). In honour of the event all the Gusâîns in the neighbourhood assemble together, and give their new member their blessing; and a sweetmeat called *laddu*, made very large, is distributed among them. The novitiate is now regarded as a Gusâîn, but he does not become a perfect one until the Vijaya Homa has been per-

[1] For the law on the subject see *Genda Puri, v.s. Chhattar Puri, Indian Law Reports, Allahabad*, IX, 1. The rule to be followed is that founded on customs and practice, which must be proved by evidence.

[2] *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I, 256.

formed, at which a Gusâîn famous for religion and learning gives him the original *mantra* of Siva. The ceremony generally occupies three days at Benares. On the first day, the Gusâîn is again shaved, leaving a tuft on the head, (*Chundi sikha*). For that day he is considered a Brâhman, and is obliged to beg at a few houses. On the second day he is held to be a Brahmachâri, and wears coloured garments and also the sacred cord (*janeu*). On the third day the *janeu* is taken from him and the headlock cut off. The *mantra* of Siva is made known to him, and also the Rudri Gâyatri (not the usual one daily pronounced by Brâhmans). He is now a full Gusâîn or Vanaprasta, is removed from other persons, and abandons the secular world. Henceforth he is bound to observe all the tenets of the Gusâîns. The complete Gusâîns who have performed the ceremony of the Vijaya Homa are celibates. It is customary, therefore, for men not to perform it until they are forty or fifty years of age, as it involves the abandonment of their wives and families."

Among the trading Gusâîns the Mahant of Mirzapur, who belongs to the Giri section, was for a long time notorious among the merchants of Northern India. Such Gusâîns have practically abandoned all claim to living a religious life, and exercise no priestly functions. When a Mahant dies his corpse is taken in a sitting posture to the Ganges, where it is bathed and barley is sprinkled over it. It is then inclosed in a stone coffin, which is taken on a barge to the middle of the river, and consigned to the sacred water.

Distribution of the Dasnâmi Gusâîns according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	158	Aligarh . . .	996
Sahâranpur . . .	5	Agra	1,124
Muzaffarnagar . .	1,119	Farrukhâbâd . .	399
Meerut . . .	5,083	Mainpuri . . .	1,159
Bulandshahr . . .	2,271	Etâwah . . .	277

Distribution of the Dasnâmi Gusâins according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Etah	1,315	Ghâzipur . . .	2,891
Bareilly . . .	4,023	Ballia	3,804
Bijnor	667	Gorakhpur . . .	7,010
Budâun . . .	2,755	Basti	2,693
Morâdâbâd . . .	2,018	Kumaun . . .	2,944
Shâhjahânpur . .	1,483	Tarâi	724
Pilibhît . . .	1,522	Lucknow . . .	738
Cawnpur . . .	1,335	Unâo	2,289
Fatehpur . . .	709	Râê Bareli . . .	2,521
Bânda	296	Sîtapur . . .	4,414
Hamîrpur . . .	438	Hardoi . . .	1,128
Allahâbâd . . .	1,061	Kheri	3,631
Jhânsi	279	Faizâbâd . . .	5,371
Jâlaun . . .	377	Gonda	11,478
Lalitpur . . .	25	Bahrâich . . .	3,634
Benares . . .	1,899	Sultânpur . . .	2,048
Mirzapur . . .	4,258	Partâbgarh . . .	1,307
Jaunpur . . .	3,638	Bârabanki . . .	4,006
		Total .	1,03,320
		Males	55,347
		Females . . .	47,973

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Habashi: Habshi—(Arabic *habash*, "to collect or congregate"). —A general term for all persons of Abyssinian, Kâfir, or negro blood. They are Muhammadans. Their sections, according to the complete Census lists, show a curious mixture. Beside the Chauhân section we have purely Muhammadan names, such as Abbâsi, Hanafi, Sayyid, and Shaikh.

Distribution of the Habashis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Morâdâbâd . . .	14	Lucknow . . .	163
Cawnpur . . .	10	Râê Bareli . . .	5
Gorakhpur . . .	1	Bahrâich . . .	1
		Total .	194

Hâbûra.[1]—A vagrant thieving tribe found chiefly in the Central Ganges-Jumna Duâb. The derivation of the name is very uncertain. It possibly means a "bugaboo" (*hawwa*, which is probably through the Prakrit the representative of the Sanskrit *bhûta* "an evil spirit"), expressive ofthe fear in which they are held by their neighbours. Ethnologically the Hâbûras are no doubt very closely connected with the regular gypsy tribes of Sânsiya and Bhâtu; in fact there seems reason to believe that these have only become quite recently endogamous groups, and even now it is asserted that they occasionally marry. Though the Hâbûras are now in much a superior grade to the Beriyas, who live by prostituting their women, both the tribes have the same traditional connection with the old ruined city of Noh-khera to the north of Pargana Jalesar, in the Etah District, and many of the gangs who traverse that part of

[1] Based on notes by Mr. F. W. Court, District Superintendent of Police, Aligarh, Bâbu Atma Râm, Head Master, High School, Mathura, and the Deputy Inspectors of Schools, Bijnor and Morâdâbâd.

the country make their way to Noh-khera during the rainy season and there arrange marriages and other caste matters in a series of general tribal councils.

Legends of origin.

2. According to one story their ancestor was a certain Rig who one day went out hunting and pursued a hare into the forest retreat then occupied by Sîta in her exile. She was so offended at the intrusion, that she cursed him that all his descendants were to be wanderers and live by the chase. By another account they were once Chauhân Râjputs who lived at Jartauli in the Aligarh District. They rebelled against the Emperor, and Alâ-ud-dîn sent a force to coerce them. They were defeated, and most of them had to take refuge in the jungle, where they lived on the game they killed. Meanwhile some of their brethren compromised with the Emperor and returned to their homes. They ascertained that one of their wild kinsmen had died, so they went to see his widow become *sati*. When she was brought out she saw a hare and immediately started after it with cries of *hau! hau!* whence the tribe was called Hâbûra. The respectable Chauhâns were so disgusted with her impiety that they excommunicated all the savage branch of the tribe, and they have remained outcastes to the present day.

Tribal organisation.

3. They usually name four exogamous septs which are all named after well-known Râjput tribes—Solanki Chauhân, Punwâr, and Bhatti, also called Râthaur. The Census Returns give a list of sections which illustrate the mixed elements out of which the caste has been formed,—Ajudhyabâsi, Baddhik, Bahâdsiya, Bahâli, Bahâniya, Bâhas, Banjâra, Banohra, Banwâr or Banwariya, Barchandi, Chauhân, Chiryamâr or "bird-killers," Dâli, Dom, Gauriya, Hindubalana, Jadwâr, Kalkanaur, Kârgar or Kârigar, Khauna, Khaurkhâl, Lodh, Mardârbatti, Mârwâr, Nahâli, Nandak, Phârli, and Tahali. These septs are exogamous. In Bijnor they are said to have two endogamous subdivisions: those who wear a bead necklace (*kanthi*) and those who do not. According to another account their only rule of exogamy is that they do not marry blood relations, and it is very doubtful how far the sept system really prevails. There is some reason to believe that all or at least some of them practise a sort of group exogamy, not marrying in their own camp or horde. They have a strong tribal council (*panchâyat*) under a president (*sardâr*), who manages all caste business.

Marriage.

4. It is quite certain that up to modern times they were in the habit of recruiting the clan by kidnapping girls of other castes; since they have been placed under more careful supervision this has, it is believed, in a great measure ceased, but there seems good reason to believe, though the Hâbûras themselves are very reticent on the subject, that they still introduce and marry in the tribe outcast women of other castes. In Bijnor it is reported that people of other castes introduced into the tribe in this way hold a lower social position than the Hâbûras of legitimate descent. For a virgin bride the price fixed by the tribal custom and payable by the father of the bridegroom is twenty-five rupees, and he has also to pay the expenses of the marriage feasting. The feeling against inter-tribal immorality appears to be strong, and it is said that a man who seduces a married woman has to pay as much as one hundred and twenty rupees before he will be readmitted to caste. On the other hand the girls have considerable liberty before marriage, and a *faux pas* is not very seriously dealt with. Their women from their vagrant, mendicant life naturally bear an indifferent character; but though not particularly virtuous, they are not habitually prostituted by their male relatives as the Beriya women are. Widows and divorced women are married in the tribe according to the *karâo* or *dharîcha* form, and their children are regarded as legitimate.

Marriage ceremonies.

5. The marriage is arranged by a go-between, who is a member of the tribe and is called *bichauliya*. He takes two rupees from the boy's father to the father of the girl, and acceptance of this constitutes the betrothal. If the relations of the bride break the engagement they are fined from ten to twenty rupees by the tribal council, and return the earnest money to the relations of the boy. The marriage ritual is entirely carried out by the father of the girl and the man who acted as marriage broker. No Brâhman is employed, and all that is done is that the pair acknowledge in the presence of the tribesmen that they are man and wife, and they then make five or seven revolutions together round the marriage shed. In Etah a curious form of marriage is reported. When the friends on both sides assemble, one of the men mounts a horse and rides some distance on the plain close to the camp. All the others, men and women, pursue him, and meanwhile the bridegroom being left alone with the bride carries her into a grass hut prepared for the purpose and immediately consummates

the marriage. When the friends return the event is celebrated with singing and dancing. The ceremony at widow-marriage is the same as that prevailing among other low castes.

Birth.

6. The mother during her confinement is attended by a midwife of the Bhangi caste, and after that by the women of her own family. They perform the usual sixth day ceremony (*chhathi*), and on the tenth day the mother is taken to worship the well from which the family supply of water is obtained. This is known as *kuân pûja*.

Death ceremonies.

7. Like the Beriyas, the Hâbûras are in the intermediate stage between burial and cremation. In Mathura they either cremate or throw the corpse into the Jumna. In Bijnor they either bury or expose the corpse in the jungle. In no case is the Mahâbrâhman called in. In Mathura when they cremate the dead they leave the ashes where the corpse was burnt. They cover the corpse with cloth, tie it to the bier, and fasten a number of wheaten cakes to it before they set fire to the pyre. Then, on the next Monday or Thursday, whichever comes first, the mourners are shaved and a dinner is given to those members of the caste who joined in the funeral. On the twelfth day some uncooked grain is given to Brâhmans and the brethren are feasted. Then, in the month of Kuâr which next follows, on the date corresponding to that of the death of the deceased, they do themselves a sort of *srâddha* and pour water on the ground in the name of the dead. On this occasion, too, uncooked grain is given to Brâhmans and the relatives are entertained. In Aligarh, when they are well off and cremate the dead, the relatives make an earthen platform on the site of the pyre, and there they make periodical oblations in the name of the dead. From Etah it is reported that when a man dies at home he is cremated, the bones are buried on the spot, and a masonry platform erected over them. If a man dies at a distance from home his bones are brought to one of the regular camping places of the tribe, and are there buried as above described. From the date of the burial of the bones the days of mourning, including the Tîja or third day and the Terahwîn or thirteenth, are fixed. The tombs of old men of the tribe are specially venerated, and they are recognised as tribal godlings. When the bones of an old and respected member of the tribe are being buried, the senior man of the tribe who is present makes a sort of funeral oration in which he dwells on the fact that the Hâbûras are the only really free people

in the country, as they are subject to none; and he thus shows in detail how much superior they are even to Brâhmans and Râjputs. Part of the speech is devoted to explaining one by one in what respect other castes are inferior to them, and he ends by imploring Parameswar that if it is fated that the soul of the dead man is to be born again, he may be reborn as a Hâbûra.

Religion.

8. All the Hâbûras in these Provinces call themselves Hindus; but, as we have seen, they accept little or no service from Brâhmans. In Aligarh it is said that when a boy reaches the age of twelve they initiate him before a Jogi and then begin to train him in thieving. In Bijnor they usually worship Kâli Bhawâni. In Mathura they have a local goddess, Kela Devi, to whom they make offerings in the months of Kûar and Chait. These offerings are consumed by the worshippers. But it is only on special occasions that they sacrifice a buffalo or goat in her honour. This sacrifice is done at the house of the person making the offerings; the goddess has no regular temple. The victim is killed in her name, and the flesh distributed among the relatives and friends. They celebrate the usual holidays—Salono, Holi, Diwâli, and Dasahra. They never go to Gaya to propitiate the sacred dead, but they bathe in the Ganges in their honour, and in Mathura visit for the same purpose the temple of Dâûji.

Social status and occupation.

9. Like the Beriyas they appear to be in a transitional stage as regards food. In Aligarh, it is reported that they will eat almost any kind of food—the *goh* or iguana, the *sânda* or lizard found in *ûsar* plains, the hedgehog, jackal, wild cat, tortoise, buffalo, and deer; and that there are only four castes from whose hands they will not take food—the Chamâr, Bhangi, Dhobi, and Kalâr. They will not eat the cow or the donkey, and they have this much respect for the cow that they will not geld an ox with their own hands. It is also asserted that they do not drink spirits, which is almost certainly incorrect. In Bijnor they drink spirits and eat pork, fowls, the flesh of deer and goats, fish, the crocodile, jackal, and other vermin, as well as the leavings of all respectable Hindus. They will drink from the hands of all Hindus except Chamârs, Bhangis, Kanjars, Sânsiyas, and the like. In Mathura they assert that they have given up the use of vermin and eat the flesh of all cloven-footed animals, except the cow, and fowls, and fish. As in other

places, they will eat the leavings of all high caste Hindus. The fact is that there are two classes of Hâbûras: those who have settled down to agriculture and become fairly respectable members of society, and those who still preserve their vagrant mode of life. The former are gradually shedding off the filthy habits and customs of their vagrant brethren under the example of the Hindu castes by whom they are surrounded. By and by as they become more civilised they will assert a descent from Râjputs, and will, as they rise in the world, be accepted as such. From Etah it is reported that if a member of the tribe commits an offence such as theft or immorality, he is excommunicated for a certain time and is not admitted until he draws blood from some part of his body, usually the nose. Women are not allowed to eat goat's flesh or rice, or to partake in the funeral feasts. If any woman touches this food of the dead she is expelled from the caste.

10. They do not use any medicine in disease but pray to Devi and Zâhir Pîr. They attribute disease to the displeasure of their deceased ancestors who have not been suitably propitiated. They have much fear of the Evil Eye, and their remedy for it is to get a Faqîr or a Jogi to blow on a vessel of water, which is then waved over the head of the patient. In Aligarh if a woman is caught committing adultery with a stranger to the tribe she is branded three times on the left arm with a hot iron and has then to bathe in the Ganges, while her husband is obliged to feast the brethren. Her paramour is not punished. When a boy is born he is named on the tenth day by a Brâhman, who receives five *sers* of grain. Then some wheat porridge is cooked with coarse sugar and eaten only by the women. As a rule they are truthful among themselves, but lie to others to procure the release of a clansman. Their oaths are as follows:—The most binding is to light a lamp (*chirágh*) and then blow it out. By this he means,—"If I lie may my family be destroyed as I blow out the light." If a Hâbûra can be induced to take this oath, he will never lie. Another is to cut the root of a *pîpal* tree. The third is swearing by Devi.

Criminal habits.

11. The vagrant branch of the tribes supplies some of the most audacious criminals in the Province. A recent report says:—"They are the pest of the neighbourhoods which they frequent, are continually pilfering, robbing standing crops, attacking carts and passengers along the roads, committing robberies and even dakaities." It is

preposterous to connect them, as has been done in this report, with the Thârus, a particularly harmless, inoffensive race inhabiting the Himalayan Tarâi. The boys are trained at first on field robbery, and are then taken out on excursions for the purpose of burglary. When they go to rob fields the gang consists of not less than twenty men. When out for the purpose of burglary eight or nine go together. Unlike the Sânsiyas the Hâbûras very seldom use violence except to save themselves from arrest, and they never carry any weapons but bludgeons. Mr. A. O. Hume[1] writes of them:— "They never worship Thâkurji except in sickness or great misfortune, such as the visit of the Police or of a Magistrate to their camp. At no time is their ritual a complicated one; it consists of an extraordinary manipulation with grains of wheat, the petitioners making at the same time a vow of sacrificing a goat or a fowl, which is subsequently performed by half roasting the offering in a flame of ghi in which salt and frankincense are thrown, and then feasting upon it. If a crime has been committed and traced to any horde, the chief immediately determines who are to be given up. Usually a compromise is made with the Police; two out of six or three out of eight are made over to justice, the rest escaping. All the chief does is to repeat a form of words, and then taking two of the grains of wheat offered to the god, he places them on the head of the scapegoat. The oath of the brotherhood is upon him, and whether he be guilty or not, he confesses to the Magistrate or Judge and goes to the gallows or to a lifelong exile confident that his chief and brethren will, as they are bound, feed and protect his wife and children that he leaves behind even before their own. Marriage seems scarcely to be with them a religious ceremony; it consists in placing four small coins in a figure of diamond shape outside which a circle is drawn, and round this the bride and bridegroom walk seven times."

12. In Aligarh at the present day if a Hâbûra is killed in the commission of any crime his accomplices give his widow one hundred and fifty rupees; if he is only arrested they have to support his wife and family until he is released. If an innocent man is convicted the real offender has to support his wife and family while he is in prison. They will not inform against each other; if anyone do so he is turned out of the gang. Neither men nor women wear

[1] *Selections from the Records of Government, N.-W. P.*, I, 420.

any jewellery. They do not go long distances to commit crime, and in the daylight they can easily be identified as Hâbûras, because both men and women wear the modicum of clothes consistent with decency. They do not attempt to conceal their movements from the Police; and if one of the gang be arrested, the headman will at once give notice of the fact. The only stolen property they bring into the camp is grain; jewellery, vessels, and clothes they conceal in earthen vessels and bury them in the neighbourhood of the encampment. They are generally supported by some landowner, who assists them in the disposal of stolen property and gets a commission of four annas in the rupee.

Their argot.

13. Hâbûras have a regular Thieves' Latin of their own, of which the following are examples:—

Corn of all kinds—*kau.*
Bread—*tuk.*
Mother—*ai.*
Father—*bâbu.*
Son—*dikra.*
Daughter—*dikri.*
Wife—*dhaniyâni.*
Husband—*dhanni.*
Son-in-law—*pahuna* (guest).
Vessels of all kinds—*tanwara.*
Clothes—*lugariya.*
Shoes—*khakra.*
Bullock—*dhanda.*
Cow—*jengariya.*
Go from here—*paro hind.*
Run away—*nasija.*
Policemen—*kapâhi.*
Police officer—*Mota modhana.*

Schemes of reformation.

14. A full account of the measures taken from time to time with a view to the reclamation of the tribe will be found in the report by Mr. D. T. Roberts appended to the report of the Police Commission of 1890. In the Etah District they have been brought under the operations of the Criminal Tribes Act but without much success, as the only persons subjected to the Act were the settled branch of the tribe who are, as a rule, comparatively harmless. A scheme for their colonisation

in the Morâdâbâd District seems to have met with comparatively small success.

Distribution of the Hâbûras according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	2	Morâdâbâd . . .	26
Aligarh . . .	868	Shâhjahânpur . .	113
Mathura . . .	731	Pilibhît . . .	42
Agra	4	Mirzapur . . .	1
Farrukhâbâd . .	46	Lucknow . . .	2
Mainpuri . . .	232	Sîtapur . . .	112
Etâwah	189	Hardoi . . .	1
Etah	224	Kheri	2
Bareilly . . .	1	Total .	2,596

Halwâi.[1]—The confectioner class. They are often confounded with the Kându, who is properly a grain parcher, though he also deals in sweetmeats. These two castes are, however, totally distinct, and do not intermarry. The Halwâi takes his name from *halwa*, a sweetmeat made of flour, clarified butter, and sugar, coloured with saffron and flavoured with almonds, raisins, and pistachio nuts.

Internal structure.

2. There are a number of endogamous sub-castes, which are some of territorial origin and others which are possibly recruited from other Hindu tribes who have taken to the occupation of making sweetmeats. The last Census gives the Kanaujiya as their only important sub-caste; and among those of local importance, the Kaithiya of Farrukhâbâd, Shâhjahânpur, and Cawnpur; the Bharsiya of Mirzapur; the Jaiswâr of Faizâbâd; the Godhiya of Gonda, and the Pachhwâhân or "Western" of Bahrâich. According to the complete lists the Halwâis are peculiar for the very large number of sections derived from local towns and places. Thus we have the Ablapuriya, Ahalpuriya, Ajudhyabâsi, Akhpuriya, Alamnagari, Alipuriya, Amalpuriya, Amrit-

[1] Based on notes collected at Mirzapur and by M. Chhote Lâl, Archæological Survey, Lucknow.

puriya, Asodpuriya, Audhiya, Aurangâbâdi, Balipuriya, Bargpuriya, Bhikhpuriya, Bilupuriya, Chandpuriya, Chaurâsiya, Drigpuriya, Dûbêpuriya, Hâjipuriya, Hâzirpuriya, Illahâbâdi, Imdâdnagari, Indauriya, Islâmpuriya, Jagatpuriya, Jaypuriya, Jajapuriya, Janakpuriya, Jaunpuriya, Kanaujiya, Khairâbâdi, Khurâsâni, Mahâbâdi, Mainpuriya, Makhdûmpuriya, Maqsûdâbâdi, Mangalpuriya, Misrikha, Muhammadâbâdi, Muradâbâdi, Naurangâbâdi, Nimkhâr, Pachhwâhân, Purabiya, Rajauriya, Ramnagari, Rasûlpuriya, Rustamnagariya, Saksèna, Sarwariya, Siupuriya, Siurâjpuriya, Shâhjahânpuriya, Siyâmpuriya, Sribâstam, Tâjpuriya, Tikaitganji, Tilokpuriya, Uttarâha. Those that suggest a connection with other castes are not numerous, such as Kaithiya, Kalwâr, Mehtariya, Sunarha, Sûrajbansi. To the east of the Provinces we find the Kanaujiya (who take their origin from Kanauj): Kalwâr possibly recruited from the distiller caste: Madhesiya (residents of the middle land) (Madhya desa): Madhubansi ("sons of sweetness"): Nipâliya or Naipariya (from Nepâl). Mr. Sherring adds from Benares Pachpiriya, Bauniwâla, Gonr, Tihara, and Lakhnawa (from Lucknow). Sir H. M. Elliot gives Chailha, Bukarra, Dûbê, Kanaujiya, and Tilbhûnja or "parchers of sesamum." All these tribes are endogamous. Mr. Sherring asserts that in Benares the Kanaujiya intermarry with the Madhesiya; but this seems very doubtful. But within these endogamous tribes they have a most elaborate system of exogamous groups known as *bâni*.[1] Those persons who belong to the same *bâni* cannot intermarry. These groups seem to be territorial, and many of them have a mnemonic verse attached to them, a few of which are given to illustrate a curious variety of intertribal exogamy:—

Nâth kê sarna.
Tu Samai ati kê dân.
Nangen kapara, bhûkhê bhât.
Biswanâth ke larua chârhawa.
Siva Kâsi men darsan pâwê.
Madhesiya baithê na pâwê.
Thân Benares.

"Under the protection of the Lord! You Samai are very charitable. Garments for the naked, boiled rice for the hungry. Offer

[1] The word *bâni* may represent either Sanskrit *varna*, "colour," "caste;" or *vani* "voice", in allusion to the commemorative verses. The latter is the popular and possibly incorrect explanation.

laddu sweetmeats to Viswanâth (Siva, "Lord of the Universe"). Pay your vows to Siva at Benares. Let not one of the Madhesiya sub-caste sit with you. Head-quarters of the Bâni—Benares."

Larkharé khambh.
Pât Sinh takht banâwa :
Baithak tanâwa.
Thân Karwati.

"Pillars tremble. Pât Sinh made a seat; arranged a resting place. Head-quarters Karwati."

Madhu ki chori :
Bích ban.
Thân Kandawa.

"The robbery of the honey in the midst of the jungle. Head-quarters Kandawa."

Batya men kai singhor :
Kutamban kai bator.
Jo ban kai sarbar karai,
Batan Sâhu kai khûnta sarai.
Thân Bishal.

"Under the *Singhora* tree on the way is the gathering of the kinsmen. If any one discuss the Bâni, the pillar of the house of Batan, the merchant decays. Head-quarters Bishal.

Chhot mot ghorawa :
Barakai lagâm.
Jhamai charh gayé chhuri bhûri :
Ramai Padârath.
Thân Anguri.

"The horse is small and fat; the rein is long. On it quickly Jhamai mounted. Ramai Padârath. Head-quarters Anguri."

Khânré ká bhusaul :
Mirich chabena.
Thân Nagar Mahai.

"A chaff store house for sugar. Parched grain of chillies. Head-quarters Nagar Mahai.

Amrit kai biro :
Pratham dân, pratham puniya.
Thân Chunârgarh.

"A tree of the water of immortality: the first gift, the chief merit. Head-quarters Chunâr Fort."

Chhânabé parwar.
Khâra samundar.
Thân Sudhawai.

Head-quarters Sudhawai."

"Ninety-six families, the Salt Ocean.

Soné sobhawa :
Rúpé ardás.
Thân Kheli.

"The beauty of gold, the desire of silver. Head-quarters Kheli."

Soné kai kharâun :
Dupahar Kanhaiya,
Dupahar râo.
Thân Lachhagir, Amawa, Barwar.

"Bathing sandals of gold: for two watches like Krishna: for two watches a king. Head-quarters Lachhagir, Amawa, Barwar."

Sone kai sinkâr
Bandi chhor.
Thân Kursath.

"A chain of gold and a gold ornament for the head. Head-quarters Kursath."

Sone kai diya,
Rúpé kai bâti
Chár pahar baré din râti.
Thân Dospur.

"A golden lamp with a silver wick. Four watches of night and day. Head-quarters Dospur."

Sabhâdhar Pandit.
Sabarné kai harwa :
Phúlé kai mâla gayé jhuriya.
Birtiha Bâbhan bhojan karai.
Baré gayé byâh kar lâyé.
Soné rúpé kai kalas dharâyé.
Thân Kantit.

"The Pandit Sabhâdhar; a gold chain for the neck. The flower garlands have withered. Feed the hereditary priest. He went to marry and returned successful and laid down the sacred marriage pitchers of silver and of gold. Head-quarters Kantit."

Lohai kai karâhi.
Kátké kai dâb :

Phûte na karâhi,
Tûte na dâb.
Thân Kârê.

"The iron boiling pan and the wooden pounder. May the pan never crack and the pounder never break. Head-quarters Kârê.

Kanchan bâri:
Tansu Mansu;
Thân Jhânsi:
Parwar Santokh:
Thân Manach.

"Lumps of gold: Tansu Mansu: head-quarters Jhânsi: the Santokh family: head-quarters Manach."

Eklakhi pâkar
Tekarê âgê chalê ghana nishân:
Thân Nauganwa.

"The fig tree worth a lâkh of rupees before which the drums sound and the flags flutter. Head-quarters Nauganwa."

Eklakhi pâkar
Pharê to khaiyân:
Nahîn to chhâhen jurayan.
Thân Kantit.

"The fig tree worth a lâkh of rupees. Eat of it when it fruits, otherwise refresh yourself under its shade. Head-quarters Kantit."

Ataiya bataiyân
Dharê Kându ki maiyya.
Thân Rîsal.

"Sharers catch the mother of the Kându. Head-quarters Risâl."

Bânh pangar:
Dûhê kai sad dhâr.
Bhîm, Bhîmai mal.
Thân Karê.

"Powerful arms: a hundred streams of milk. Bhîm, Bhîmai and Mal. Head-quarters Karê."

Bhar karai, bhar karawa:
Chhitan sâhu pîal bhar tharwa.
Thân Bharthara.

"Chhitan, the merchant drank a full dish, a small cupful and a large cup. Head-quarters Bharthara."

Dúi khairai kai musár.
Jabaré maré, dúbaré pratipál karai.
Thán Benares.

"Pestle made of two acacia trees. Beat the strong, protect the weak. Head-quarters Benares."

What the exact meaning of some of these verses may be it is not easy to determine. The places designated are all to the east of the Province or in the adjoining Districts of Bengal. In many of them some ancestor of the exogamous group seems to be designated: others may be of totemistic origin. Among the city Halwâ is of Lucknow these groups have disappeared, and their rule of exogamy is that marriage within seven degrees of paternal and maternal kinship is forbidden.

Marriage rules.

3. The age for marriage runs from five to twelve, and the better-off members of the caste marry their daughters in infancy. One of the clansmen acts as negotiator (*agua*). It is forbidden to marry again during the lifetime of the first wife without leave of the tribal council. The levirate is permitted and prevails generally, but it is not enforced on the widow, and her right to select a second partner is recognised.[1] Marriage is as usual of three forms: *shádi* or *charhauwa*, the respectable ritual; *dola*, that used by poor people, and *sagái* for widows. In the first the worshipping of the bridegroom's feet (*pairpúja*) by the father of the bride and the smearing of vermilion (*sendurdán*) on the parting of the bride's hair are regarded as the binding part of the ceremony, which goes through the usual states of betrothal (*barrekhi*) and fixing of the marriage day (*lagan*). Then comes a special ceremony called "the touching of the grain" (*anáj chhúna*); at a lucky time fixed by the Pandit they send for some *urdi* pulse and gram, and the women begin to grind it. During this ceremony no widow or woman married by *sagái* is allowed to be present. Then follows the singing (*gitgauna*), when the women commence the marriage songs, and next comes the *matmangara*, when some earth is collected

[1] It has been judicially decided that a man who is a member of the Halwâi caste may contract a marriage in the *sagái* form with a widow even if he has a wife living, provided in the latter case he is a childless man. *Quere*, whether a married woman may not contract a *sagái* marriage, notwithstanding that her husband is living if the *panchâyat* has examined the case and reported that her husband is unable to support her.

Kally Churn Shaw versus *Dukhu Bibee*. *Indian Law Reports, Calcutta*, V, 692.

and brought into the marriage shed, when all the women get some sweets and oil for their hair. Then follows the anointing (*tel hardi*), and on the day before the procession starts the clansmen are fed (*bhalwân*), while the father and mother of the bridegroom do the *mâtri* or *mantri pûja*, which is an emblematical remarriage. Their clothes are tied together by the Brâhman, their feet stained with dye (*mahâwar*), and they worship an image of the nine planets (*naugraha*) made of cow-dung. At the bride's door the *duâr pûja* is done in the usual way. The clansmen are then fed, and some food is sent from the bride's house for the bridegroom. While he eats it the barber rubs his father's feet with a mixture of barley flour and turmeric known as *chîkas*, and the clansmen are given a mixture of sugar and pepper dissolved in water (*mirchwân*) to drink. On the day after the marriage (*barhâr*) the boy is solemnly fed on rice and pulse (*khichari*). When the bride arrives at her husband's house, Gangaji, Sati and Mahâdeva are worshipped, and on the fourth day (*chauthi*) the bride's father sends a present of rice, sweetmeats, butter, clothes, etc., out of which part is set aside as an offering to the godlings (*deota*). This is known as *bujhwat*.

Birth and Death.

4. When a woman is in the eighth month of pregnancy the *uthwânsa* ceremony is performed. Husband and wife are dressed in new clothes and five kinds of butter cakes and five varieties of fruits in season are placed in her cap. The other ceremonies are the ordinary type. When a boy is five or six years old the ceremonial shaving (*mûnran*) and ear piercing (*kanchhedan*) are done at some shrine, such as that of the Vindhyabâsini Devi at Bindhâchal. This marks the boy's initiation into caste privileges, and from that time he is bound to conform to the tribal rules regarding food.

Religion.

5. They have both a Hindu and a Muhammadan branch, Hindu Halwâis are rarely initiated into any of the recognised sects, but are by preference Vaishnavas. Their clan deities are Mahâdeva, Hardiya or Hardaur and the Pânchonpîr, among whom Ghâzi Miyân is most regarded. He is worshipped on the ninth of Kuâr with cakes (*bara*), *urad* pulse, boiled rice, bread, and a goat is sacrificed. These offerings are placed on seven stones near the family shrine. Mahâbîr and Mahâdeva are propitiated with sweets (*laddu*), fried gram (*ghunghuri*), and sweet cakes in the month of Sâwan. When a child is attacked with

small-pox a pice is waved round its head and put behind its pillow: a pit is dug in the ground and sharbat prepared of five different fruits is poured into it, and Sîtala Mâta worshipped with an offering of sweets (*batâsha*), fried gram (*ghunghuri*), and garlands of flowers. Their priests used to be of the special class of Brâhmans known as Kinnara Misra, but these have now taken to music as their profession, and have fallen into disrepute. Their place has been taken by ordinary Sarwariya Brâhmans.

Occupation and social standing.

6. Making of confectionery is the special business of the caste, but some have taken to agriculture and a good many to money-lending and other mercantile business like Banyas. Their women, who often manage their shops, have in some places an equivocal reputation. But they enjoy a character for personal purity. Brâhmans will take water from their hands, and all Hindus, except the Sarwariya Brâhmans, will eat *pûris* or cakes of wheaten dough fried by them in melted butter. They nearly all indulge in spirits. They eat the flesh of goats and sheep, but more particularly that of animals which have been offered in sacrifice. They eat food cooked with butter (*pakki*), cooked by Brâhmans, Kshatriyas and all respectable Vaisyas excepting Kalwârs. Food cooked in water (*kachchi*) they will eat only when prepared by members of their own caste or by their priests. Only Chamârs and other menial castes will eat their leavings. The Achârwâla or preparer of pickles, jams, etc., is generally an independent Mussulmân trader, not a Muhammadan Halwâi, as seems to be the case in Bengal.[1] In the eastern parts of the Province the Hindu Halwâi often makes jams and condiments (*chatni*).

Distribution of Halwâis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Hindus.			Muhammadans.	Grand Total.
	Kanaujiya.	Others.	Total.		
Dehra Dûn . . .	...	8	8	...	8
Sahâranpur . . .	...	...	....	2,164	2,164
Muzaffarnagar . . .	...	1	1	1,858	1,859

[1] Hoey, *Monograph on Trade and Manufactures*, 50 : Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I, 312.

Distribution of Halwâis according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Hindus.			Muhammadans.	Grand Total.
	Kanaujiya.	Others.	Total.		
Meerut	...	...	...	317	317
Bulandshahr . . .	...	...	...	191	191
Aligarh	...	...	...	32	32
Mathura	...	4	4	1	5
Agra	...	...	...	7	7
Farrukhâbâd . . .	100	1,167	1,267	93	1,360
Mainpuri . . .	...	176	176	...	176
Etâwah	3	185	188	9	197
Etah	...	...	...	219	219
Bareilly	...	13	13	328	341
Bijnor	...	...	...	1,634	1,634
Budâun	...	129	129	115	244
Morâdâbâd . . .	...	...	...	518	518
Shâhjahânpur . . .	44	444	488	409	897
Pilibhît	...	78	78	220	298
Cawnpur	1,086	2,170	3,256	35	3,291
Fatehpur	1,286	304	1,590	...	1,590
Bânda	615	317	932	...	932
Hamîrpur	...	79	79	...	79
Allahâbâd . . .	672	2,425	3,097	797	3,894
Jhânsi	...	1	1	...	1
Jâlaun	...	5	5	30	35
Benares	3,658	624	4,282	7	4,289
Mirzapur . . .	7,127	642	7,769	2	7,771
Jaunpur	5,408	608	6,016	193	6,209
Ghâzipur	1,350	124	1,474	...	1,474

Distribution of Halwâis according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Hindus.			Muhammadans.	Grand Total.
	Kanaujiya.	Others.	Total.		
Ballia	185	438	623	...	623
Gorakhpur	2,781	378	3,159	64	3,223
Basti	2,598	110	2,708	252	2,960
Azamgarh	2,610	943	3,553	30	3,583
Tarâi	...	...	...	103	103
Lucknow	784	2,868	3,652	560	4,212
Unâo	1,757	1,839	3,596	49	3,645
Râê Bareli	689	894	1,583	458	2,041
Sîtapur	2,224	1,345	1,569	2,794	4,363
Hardoi	50	1,915	1,965	39	2,004
Kheri	79	476	555	2,880	3,435
Faizâbâd	1,922	645	2,567	273	2,840
Gonda	965	853	1,818	1,976	3,794
Bahrâich	107	789	896	5,362	6,258
Sultânpur	895	515	1,410	198	1,608
Partâbgarh	973	99	1,072	1,154	2,226
Bâra Banki	446	2,677	3,123	6,173	9,296
Total	38,414	26,288	64,702	31,544	96,246

Hâra.—A famous Râjput sept which is now represented only in small numbers in these Provinces. They trace their descent to the mythical cow Kamdhenu, from whose bones (*hâr*) they say that they were produced. The founder of the sept was Ishta Pâla, a decendant of Mânik Râê, King of Ajmer, who in A.D. 685 "sustained the first shock of the Islâmite arms." Ishta Pâla was wounded in battle with the invading force of Mahmûd of Ghazni. "His limbs which lay dissevered, as the story goes, were collected by Sûra Bâi; and the goddess sprinkling them with the water of life, he arose. Hence the name Hâra, which his descendants bore from

the bones (*hâr*) thus collected; but more probably from having lost (*hâra*) Asi." There are nineteen eponyous clans, of which Colonel Tod gives a list.[1]

Hardoi.—A sub-caste of Banyas who take their name from the district of that name.

Distribution of Hardoi Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Farrukhâbâd . . .	4	Lucknow . . .	3
Shâhjahânpur . .	874	Sîtapur	4,220
Pilibhît . . .	16	Hardoi . . .	2,145
Cawnpur . . .	2	Kheri	3,923
		Total .	11,187

Harischandi.—A Vaishnava sect who take their name from the celebrated Râja Haris Chandra, whose legend is thus told by Prof. Dowson:[2]—"He was the twenty-eighth King of the Solar race and son of Trisanku. He was celebrated for his piety and justice. There are several legends about him. The Aitareya Brâhmana tells the story of his purchasing Sunahsephas to be offered up as a vicarious sacrifice for his own son. The Mahâbhârata relates that he was raised to the heaven of Indra for his performance of the Râjasûya sacrifice and for his unbounded liberality. The Mârkandeya Purâna expands the story at considerable length. One day while Haris Chandra was hunting he heard female lamentations, which proceeded from the Sciences, who were being mastered by the austerely fervid sage Viswamitra, and were crying out in alarm at his superiority. Haris Chandra, as defender of the distressed, went to the rescue, but Viswamitra was so provoked by his interference, that the Sciences instantly perished, and Haris Chandra was reduced to a state of the most abject helplessness. Viswamitra demanded the sacrificial gift due to him as a Brâhman, and the King offered him whatever he might choose to ask—gold, his own son, wife, life, kingdom, good fortune, whatever was dearest. Viswamitra stripped him of wealth and kingdom, leaving him

[1] Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II, 461: Tod, *Annals*, II, 426.
[2] *Classical Dictionary*, s. v.

nothing but a garment of bark and his wife and son. In a state of destitution he left his kingdom, and Viswamitra struck Saibya, the queen, with his staff to hasten her reluctant departure. To escape from his oppressor he proceeded to the holy city of Benares, but the relentless sage was waiting for him and demanded the completion of the gift. With bitter grief wife and child were sold, and there remained only himself. Dharma, the god of justice, appeared in the form of a hideous and offensive Chandâla and offered to buy him. Notwithstanding the exile's repugnance and horror, Viswamitra insisted upon the sale, and Haris Chandra was carried off bound, beaten, confused, and afflicted, to the abode of the Chandâla. He was sent by his master to steal clothes from the graves in a cemetery. In this horrid place and degrading work he spent twelve months. His wife then came to the cemetery to perform the obsequies of her son, who had died from the bite of a serpent. They recognised each other, and Haris Chandra and his wife resolved to die upon the funeral pyre of their son, though he hesitated to take away his own life without the leave of his master. After all was prepared he gave himself up to meditation of Vishnu. The gods then arrived headed by Dharma and accompanied by Viswamitra. Dharma entreated him to refrain from his intention, and Indra informed him that he, his wife, and son had conquered heaven by their good works. Haris Chandra declared that he could not go to heaven without the permission of his master the Chandâla. When this difficulty was removed, Harischandra objected to go to heaven without his faithful subjects. This request was granted by Indra, and after Viswamitra had inaugurated Rohitaswa, the king's son, to be his successor, Haris Chandra, his friends and followers, all ascended in company to heaven. There he was induced by the sage Nârada to boast of his merits, and this led to his expulsion from heaven. As he was falling, he repented of his faults and was forgiven. His downward course was arrested, and he and his followers dwell in an aerial city, which, according to popular belief, is still occasionally visible in mid air."

2. The Harischandi Faqîrs follow the principles which Haris Chandra taught his Dom master during the period of his servitude. Most of them are Doms, and they are found in small numbers in these Provinces. They appear to adopt merely a belief in Vishnu as the Creator of the universe.

Harjala.[1]—A small tribe found only in Sîtapur and Kheri. According to their own account of themselves they were once Guâl Ahîrs, and after the capture of the fort of Chithor they were obliged to wander away in the disguise of Jogis and other beggars. As they used to assume all sort of disguises they were called Harcholiya (*har*, "every," *chola*, "body"), which was afterwards corrupted into Harjala. Another story represents the word to be derived from the fact that they will drink water from any one's hand, (*har*, "every;" *jal* "water"). They are divided into three exogamous sections—Bahrâichi, Khairâbâdi, and Lakhnawi, which take their names from their places of residence, Bahrâich, Khairâbâd, and Lucknow. The Census Returns add Baranikali, Brempuri, (possibly a corruption of Ibrahîmpuri), Guâlbans, and Lodh, the last two of which would connect them in some way with Ahîrs and Lodhas. They are all Hindus. Their occupation is begging in the disguise of Jogis and other regular mendicants. They sing a special song known as Sarwan, which is said to be originally a lament for the Rishi Sarwan who was accidentally shot by Râja Dasaratha as he was taking his blind father and mother slung in a basket over his shoulders to a place of pilgrimage. The legend has been localised at a place called Sarwan, in Pargana Maurânwân, of the Unâo District.[2] Some of them keep buffaloes and sell ghi; others cultivate and live by cutting grass and day labour.

Distribution of the Harjalas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.
Sîtapur	38
Kheri	208
Total .	246

Hayobans, Haihobans (said to be derived from *haya-vansa*, "the race of the horse").—A Rajput sept found in the Ballia district. They are of the Lunar race and in the highest rank among the

[1] Based on information received through Lieutenant-Colonel W. P. Harrison, Deputy Commissioner, Kheri.

[2] Elliott, *Chronicles*, 5, *sq.*

tribes of the District. According to Sir H. M. Elliot[1] :—"Maheswati, the capital of the Lunar Rajputs, in the Narbada valley, was founded by Sahesra Arjuna, of the Hihya or Hayobans race. Their dynasty for fifty-two generations was established at Ratanpur, in the Central Provinces. The last of the dynasty, Raja Ragnâth Sinh, died about one hundred and ten years ago. The Hayobans of Ballia claim descent from the Ratanpur kings. Chandra Got, a cadet of this house, is said to have, in 850. A.D., migrated northwards and settled at Manjha, on the Ganges, now included in the Sâran District, and waged successful war with the aborginal Cheros. After nearly a couple of hundred years his descendants left Manjha and settled south of the Ganges at Bihiya, where they remained for five centuries and subdued the Cheros." In or about 1528 A.D. the Raja Bhopat Deva, or perhaps one of his sons, violated Maheni, a Brâhman woman of the house of the Purohit or family priest of the Hayobans clan. She burnt herself to death, and in dying imprecated the most fearful curses on the Hayobans race. After this tragedy the clan left Bihiya, and passed beyond the Ganges to the Ballia Pargana, where for a time they were located at Gâê Ghât, and finally settled at Haldi, from which the Hayobans Râja now takes his title. The tomb of Maheni, under a *pîpal* tree close to the Railway at Bihiya, is still visited by women of every caste, who come in numbers either to invoke her as a deified being or to offer oblations in commemoration of her. None of them dares to enter Bihiya, which contains the remains of their ancestors' fort. They are more swarthy than most Râjputs, and Mr. Carnegy suggests that they may have been originally a Tamil race.[2]

2. These people may possibly be connected with the Haihya of the Purânik lists. We read that they with the Jalajanghas, descendants of Yadu, conquered King Bahu or Bahuka and were finally destroyed by Sâgara.[3] A tribe of Haihayas still exists in the valley of Sahajpur, who, according to Colonel Tod, are "aware of their ancient lineage, and though few in numbers, are still celebrated for their valour."[4] Professor Wilson suggested their connection with the Hia, Hoiei-ke, Hoieiha, and similarly denomi-

[1] *Supplementary Glossary, s.v.*
[2] Oldham, *Ghâzipur Memo.*, I, 55, *sq.*
[3] Wilson, *Vishnu Purâna*, 373, *sq.*
[4] *Annals of Rajasthân*, I, 41.

nated Hun or Turk Tribes, who make a figure in Chinese History. "At the same time it is to be observed that these tribes do not make their appearance until some centuries after the Christian era, and the scene of their first exploits is far from the frontier of India: the coincidence of appellation may therefore be merely accidental. In the word *haya*, which properly means 'a horse,' it is not impossible that we have confirmatory evidence of the Scythian origin of the Haihyas."[1]

Hijra, Mukhannas.—The class of eunuchs. In spite of the operations of the Criminal Tribes Act (XXVII of 1871) these people are still found in considerable numbers throughout the Province; but under the rigid supervision to which they are now exposed their numbers are gradually decreasing. Formerly when a deformed boy was born in a family the Hijras of the neighbourhood used to beset the parents and endeavour to obtain possession of him. This practice has now, of course, ceased. Hijiras divide the country into beats for the purposes of begging, and none of them ventures to trespass in the beat of another. Most of them wear a sort of female dress, and, as nearly all of them are Muhammadans, they call themselves by Musalmân names such as Bari Begam, Chhoti Begam, etc. They go about and attend marriage feasts and other ceremonies. They play on the drum (*dhol*) and cymbals (*manjîra*). Their death customs are the same as those of the low castes in their neighbourhood. The Census Returns show that they have a considerable number of women dependent on them.

2. The Census Returns give as sections of the so-called Hijra caste some of purely Muhammadan origin, as Bani Hâshim, Khwâja, Khwâja Sarâi, Khwâjazâd, Pathân, and Shaikh, with others of Hindu origin as Gangarâmi and Tilokbans.

Distribution of Hijras according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Hindus.		Muhammadans.		Total.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
Sahâranpur . . .	...	...	115	105	220
Muzaffarnagar . . .	...	...	21	12	33

[1] *Loc. cit.*, 418, *sq.*

Distribution of Hijras according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Hindus.		Muhammadans.		Total.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
Meerut	...	...	24	2	26
Bulandshahr	...	...	4	4	8
Aligarh	...	...	5	...	5
Mathura	...	...	7	...	7
Agra	1	...	18	...	19
Farrukhâbâd	...	...	12	...	12
Mainpuri	...	...	6	...	6
Etâwah	...	...	10	...	10
Etah	...	...	11	...	11
Budâun	...	...	25	10	35
Morâdâbâd	...	...	11	...	11
Shâhjahânpur	...	...	8	7	15
Pilibhît	...	...	3	...	3
Cawnpur	1	...	28	1	30
Fatehpur	...	...	13	4	17
Bânda	...	...	9	6	15
Hamirpur	...	...	11	1	12
Allahâbâd	2	3	26	15	46
Jhânsi	...	...	7	...	7
Jâlaun	...	...	5	...	5
Jaunpur	...	...	1	2	3
Ghâzipur	...	...	10	3	13
Ballia	...	...	15	13	28
Gorakhpur	...	...	16	11	27
Basti	...	...	27	32	59
Azamgarh	...	...	11	6	17
Lucknow	...	...	18	...	18

Distribution of Hijras according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Hindus.		Muhammadans.		Total.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
Râê Bareli	...	...	44	9	53
Sitapur	...	...	18	...	18
Kheri	...	...	15	...	15
Faizâbâd	...	...	28	20	48
Gonda	...	...	9	7	16
Bahrâich	...	...	34	...	34
Sultânpur	...	...	82	65	147
Partâbgarh . . .	...	...	40	34	74
Bârabanki	...	...	2	...	2
Total .	4	3	749	369	1,125

Hotri.—A functional sub-division of Brâhmans, "he that offers an oblation or burnt offering." His title and functions recall the animal sacrifices of the Vedic age. "His business is to make the *homa* offering, and to recite Vedic hymns at the opening of new temples, or when large feasts are given to Brâhmans and sometimes in the private houses of rich men. The last instance of a Vedic goat sacrifice, which is the only form now allowed, that of the cow and horse being prohibited, was performed in Benares about thirty years ago. The account which I have received of it is as follows:—A certain Brâhman from Southern India, who had inherited the charge of an eternal fire from a remote and distinguished ancestry, had, through an inadvertence for which he blamed himself, allowed the fire to go out. In order to relight it and make a suitable atonement for the crime which he had committed, he determined to celebrate a great sacrifice, and collected from all the Hindu Râjas who could be induced to contribute, a sum of about thirty thousand rupees for the purpose. The ceremony lasted for twenty-one days. All this time Brâhmans were being fed in thousands, offerings of *homa* were being thrown on the altar, and sacred words (*mantra*) were repeated with each offering. The goat intended for

the sacrifice, which was to crown the work, was stalled in an enclosure set apart for the sacrificial floor; and the greatest attention, amounting almost to worship, was paid to it till the day of sacrifice came round. As the goat was being led up to the altar, its neck was garlanded with flowers, and red powder was showered on its head. The most learned and distinguished Brâhmans who could be found were summoned from hundreds of miles round to take part in this Vedic sacrifice. The spot on which the goat was at last killed was screened off, so that no profane eye might behold what the Brâhmans were doing, or witness the relighting of the extinguished fire from the flame of the sacrifice. On receiving this fire relighted, the man was taken to the Ganges to be bathed by the Achârya or presiding priest; and such was the sanctity ascribed to that part of the river where he had bathed, that almost the whole city of Benares turned out to get a drop or two of water thrown at them by the hands of the priest. It is said that no such sacrifice had been performed before within the memory of any man living, nor is it expected that such will ever be performed again.

2. "There is one more function left to the Hotri, which may be traced back to the Vedic age, *viz.*, the recitation of long passages from the ancient hymn books. This is done at times when new temples are opened or when large feasts are given to Brâhmans, and sometimes in the private houses of rich men. A Hotri is sometimes employed by men who are wealthy enough to engage his services to stand before an idol and read extracts from the Veda on their behalf. Such repetition is placed to the credit of the man who pays for it, and is believed to benefit his soul in the life beyond the grave."[1]

Hurkiya, Hurukiya.—A small tribe of musicians and pimps, attendants on dancing girls, of whom some account has been given under the head Tawâif. They are by religion Muhammadans. As sections, according to the Census Returns, they recorded some of the other sub-castes of a similar mode of livelihood, such as Kanchan and Paturiya; others connected with higher castes, as Bâhamaniya, Kâchhi, and others of local origin, as Bihariya from Bihâr, Kâlpi and Purabiya or "Easterns."

[1] Nesfield, *Calcutta Review*, CLXVII, 263, *sq.*

Distribution of the Hurkiyas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.
Bulandshahr	6
Aligarh	4
Agra	105
Farrukhâbâd	221
Etâwah	432
Jâlaun	33
Total	801

Husaini.—A class of so-called Brâhmans who take their name from the Muhammadan saint Husain. In the Panjâb they are called Musalmân Brâhmans, are found chiefly in the Delhi Division, and are said to receive oblations in the name of Hindu gods from Hindus and in the name of Allâh from Musalmâns. In Azamgarh they are described as half caste Brâhmans and are also known as Bhanreriya, which is another term for the Dakaut (*q.v.*). In Bombay they act as priests of the Bhangis. According to Dr. Wilson they are found near Ahmadnagar, formerly the seat of a Muhammadan dynasty. "They are half converts to the Muhammadan faith, though they retain some of their Brâhmanical practices; generally only intermarry among themselves. They ask alms both from Muhammadans and Hindus." Dr. Wilson suspects that their origin may have been connected with the Brâhman to whom the Muhammadan founder of the Brâhmani dynasty of the Dakkhin was so much indebted.[1]

[1] Wilson, *Indian Caste*, II, 29, 134: Ibbetson, *Panjâb Ethnography*, para. 512: *Azamgarh Settlement Report*, 43A, app.

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